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MEMOIRS

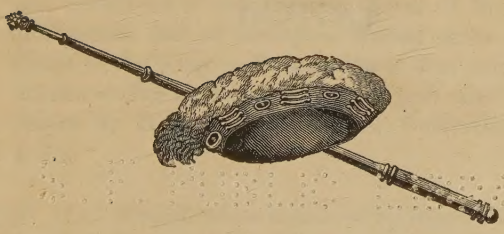
OF

THE COURT

OF

HENRY THE EIGHTH.

By Mrs. A. T. THOMSON.



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MEMOIRS

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CHAP. I.

Progress of the Continental War; battle of Pavia. — Divisions between Charles and Henry. — Scotland. — James the Fifth. — Entertainment of the Scots Ambassadors. — Pageant contrived in part by Sir Thomas Wyatt; his character; his poetic compositions and those of Surrey; his supposed Attachment to Anne Bullen. — Domestic proceedings of Henry. — Unpopularity of Wolsey's measures. — Regulations of the household of the Princess Mary, of the Duke of Richmond, and of Henry. — Wolsey gives Hampton Court to the King. — Description of that Palace, and of others. — The Manor of Richmond presented to him in return by Henry. — Christmas. — Continental affairs. 1525.

WHILST Henry and Wolsey were occupied in the promotion of learning, and the overthrow of monachism at home; the continental war was marked by events of the most important and interesting nature.

1523.

Francis the First, constrained to struggle not only with foreign but with domestic enemies, was deserted by the Duc de Bourbon, a powerful and high-spirited nobleman, who immediately entered into a treasonable negociation with the Emperor Charles. Francis, suspecting the disloyalty of Bourbon, had the policy and generosity to inform him of his discovery of these designs, and to promise him, not only a free pardon, but the restoration of an estate then disputed between him and Louise, the king's mother, on a free confession of his errors. But Bourbon was irretrievably engaged against the interests of his master, and escaping to Genoa, he took the command of the Imperial troops in Italy, and defeated those of his own country at Cremona, in which engagement the brave Chevalier Bayard was killed. Bourbon was not only supported by Charles, but also privately encouraged by England, whence he was strongly urged to commence an invasion of France, with a promise of assistance from Henry, by a similar incursion upon Picardy, and by a supply of 100,000 crowns per month; and in return, Bourbon acknowledged the justice of the pretensions asserted by Henry to the crown of France. Bourbon proceeded to take several towns in the French dominions; but the capture of the provision gallies belonging to the emperor, the failure of an attack upon Marseilles, and a

scarcity of money originating from the mutual jealousy between the emperor and Henry, who each dreaded the prosperity of the other, obliged the French commander to return to Genoa.

Francis, who appeared to be impelled by an evil genius, was not dismayed by the
1524. appalling situation of his affairs. He knew that the pecuniary resources of the emperor were few, and that an attack upon Burgundy had already failed for want of supplies; and he was aware, also, of secret divisions among his enemies. Encouraged by these considerations, he meditated an invasion of Milan, on which he had determined, contrary to the advice of the Pope, Clement the Seventh. The unfortunate result of the battle of Pavia evinced the imprudence of this proceeding; and the unhappy King of France, having his horse killed under him, was made a prisoner on the field of battle, on the birthday of his rival, Charles of Spain, Feb. 24th, 1525.

The news of this memorable victory was received with moderation by Charles, whose humility upon the first reception was so edifying, as to be the subject of commendation by all beholders. Dr. Sampson, the English ambassador at Madrid, a man of great learning and reputation, declared, in a letter to Wolsey, that the observation of Charles's equanimity under so great a temptation as that which sudden

prosperity presents, had instructed him more than all the letters, "words, or books that he had ever read, or should read;" and this assertion was corroborated by a statement, on the authority of a gentleman of the privy chamber, who beheld the emperor, when he was first informed of the victory, enter his closet, and remain there a long time, occupied in thanksgiving to God; nor would he allow any solemn triumph to be made, but contented himself with a general procession to the chapel of our Lady, about a mile from the town, whither he rode, rather as a penitent than as a conqueror, merely with a cap of black frieze upon his head, and without any of the usual insignia of triumph. *

Ferdinand, Arch-duke of Austria, immediately apprized the English court of the victory, by a formal letter written in Latin, and it was also communicated to Henry by the Princess Margaret, Governess of the Netherlands, with the details of the event. Henry deemed it expedient to testify his joy by every outward demonstration. A solemn mass of thanksgiving was sung at St. Paul's, and a general rejoicing was manifested; but these appearances of satisfaction concealed internal jealousy and distrust, which rankled in the varying mind of the English monarch, who now perceived that the balance of power among the European states was de-

* *Ellis's Orig. Letters,* vol. i. p. 264.

stroyed by the additional influence which this success would confer upon Charles. These feelings in the mind of the king were aggravated by Wolsey, who had secret reasons for fomenting the irritation which Henry experienced at the success of the Imperial troops.

Adrian the Sixth, who had supplanted the Cardinal in the papal chair, had been removed from that situation by death, and Wolsey had flattered himself that no successor in the favour of the emperor could stand between him and his promotion. But in this he had been again deceived. Charles, who, according to the Italian historians, never intended to give to an adherent of England so great an accession of dignity, had encouraged the views of Julio de Medici, an illegitimate son of one of the Medici family. Wolsey, having all the French party in the conclave against him, obtained but few votes, and Cardinal Colonna, the powerful opponent of Julio, had been gained over to his interests, by a promise of being made Chancellor to the new Pope, and of receiving a present of the most splendid palace in Rome. Julio, whose election was thus secured, having taken the name of Clement the Seventh, in honour of St. Clement's day, which was soon to be solemnized, was duly installed in his high office. Solicitous, however, to preserve the friendship of England to the Holy See, he had conferred upon

Wolsey the unprecedented honour of a perpetual legateship, and had favoured the laudable designs of the Cardinal in the suppression of the monasteries. But these proofs of favour, although they induced an apparent cordiality towards the Pope on the part of Wolsey, could not soothe the resentment of the Cardinal towards the Emperor, whose professions and actions bore so different a construction. In a council of state which was held in consequence of the intelligence of the battle at Pavia, it was resolved to intimate to Charles the expectation that some of the fruits of the victory should fall to the portion of England; and that the inheritance of France, claimed by the English monarch, ought to be considered with reference to the interests, not only of the King of England, but of the emperor, whose projected marriage with the Princess Mary was anxiously anticipated. Cuthbert Tonstall, whose abilities as an orator frequently procured him missions of a delicate nature, was therefore dispatched to Spain, where, meeting with little encouragement in his demands from the Emperor, a rup-
1525. ture with Spain was now seriously meditated at the English court; and Henry, returning to his former desire of being styled the arbiter of Europe, and moved by compassion for Francis, of whose accomplishments and vir-

tues his recent interview had enabled him to judge, began to reflect how glorious would be the office of restoring peace to Europe, and of procuring the liberation of the captive monarch.* To this effect, Tonstall was again dispatched to Charles, whose mind had been prepared for the mediation of England in behalf of Francis, by a letter from Francis, and by the intercessions of Louise, his mother. The ungenerous disposition of Charles was not, however, to be softened by the calamities of his rival, nor would he listen to the more moderate conditions proposed by Louise, or by Henry, whose solicitations were repeated more than once on this occasion. So little regard, also, did the Emperor evince for the continuance of that amity which had been professed reciprocally between him and England, that he openly disregarded his former treaty of marriage with the Princess Mary, and entered upon overtures for an union with the Infanta of Portugal.

While affairs were in this state on the continent, peace began once more to smile upon the
1524. harassed kingdom of Scotland. The absence of the Duke of Albany had occasioned a considerable addition of strength and influence to the queen's party, among the nobility; and measures were taken in order to bring about a peace with England, and to invest the young

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 158.

king, who had been placed by the regent as a prisoner in Stirling Castle, with the authority which was his right. The advice which was given to James the Fifth, proceeded, as it may readily be perceived, from interested views, but it was not likely to be rejected by a youth of thirteen or fourteen years of age; and James, assuming the reins of government, allowed them to be directed by his mother and the Earl of Arran. These plans were, however, for some time, thrown into confusion by the Earl of Angus, who, having escaped from France into England, had succeeded in engaging Henry on his side. In vain did Margaret, who had attached herself, with all the vehemence of her nature, to the Earl of Arran, oppose the return of her husband into Scotland; for Henry, suspecting that Arran was inclined to favour the French party, dispatched Angus into Scotland, with an injunction to compose his domestic broils with Margaret, and to protect the young king.

On the part of Henry, Roger Radclyff and Doctor Magnus were dispatched as ambassadors to Scotland; the last of these persons, who has been before mentioned as having the chief direction of the public affairs of Henry Fitzroy in the north, was a person of considerable abilities, and his elevation affords an additional instance of the system, which prevailed in the counsels of Henry, of promoting individuals of

inferior birth. The parentage of Magnus was unknown, as he had been deserted by his mother when an infant, and exposed on the road in the vicinity of Newark. In this situation he was found by some Yorkshire clothiers, who took compassion upon the desolate little being, and conveying him to Newark, had him baptized there by the name of "Thomas." They also bestowed a liberal education upon the foundling, who, adopting the sirname of Magnus, rose from one employment to another, until he became a character of some importance in diplomatic affairs.*

The description of the youthful James the Fifth, which Magnus and Radclyff now transmitted to Wolsey, must have been interesting to Henry, as pourtraying one in whom he felt considerable interest, both on account of his relationship, and, from the possibility of a closer alliance at some future period, the Scots having made overtures for a treaty of marriage between the young Princess Mary and her cousin. "The queen's grace," say the ambassadors, speaking of Margaret of Scotland, "hath had us to solace with the king's grace here at Leith, and in the feildes, and to see his saide grace stirre his horses and reune with a speere amongys others his lordes and servaunts

* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 111.

at a gloove; and also by the quene's procuring we have seene his saide grace use hymselff otherwise pleasantely booth in singing and dansing, and shewyng familiaritie with the ladies. An whiche hys princely acts and doings be so excellent for his age, not yet xiij yeres till Easter next, that in our opynyons it is not possible they shulde be amended, and myche more it is to our comforte to see and conceive that in personage, favor, and countenance, and in all his other procedyngs, his grace resembleth very myche to the king's highnes our maister."*

The Scottish ambassadors, who visited England in order to negociate concerning the projected alliance, were entertained by the king with the utmost courtesy and splendour. Cockebourne, Bishop of Dunkeld, who with Lord Gilbert Kennet, the Earl of Casilis, and the Abbot of Campshenell, were conducted to see the king at Greenwich, declared, on this occasion, "that although the realm of Scotland and he had often heard of the renown and fame of Henry and his court, both for the gifts of grace and of nature, yet that the princely countenance of the English monarch, and his gracious deportment, did far surpass report." In order to increase the admiration of the northern guests, a splendid pageant was prepared at Christmas, at which the queen was present; for although

Dec. 20, 1525.

* *Ellis's Orig. Letters,* vol. i. p. 251.

her footing in the affections of her consort was undermined, it was not visibly impaired, and she joined, with her usual complaisance, in the amusements and recreations of the king. In the tilt-yard at Greenwich an artificial mount and castle were placed, a spectacle devised by a number of young noblemen, who in those days frequently directed their ingenuity to vary those sports which recurred with each returning festival. The contrivers of this Christmas diversion were Sir Thomas Wyatt, the lord Grey, Sir George Cobham, Sir John Dudley, Edward Seymour, and other persons of less distinguished abilities and rank.

The name of Wyatt cannot be mentioned without recalling associations of romantic and poetical interest. The family of Wyatt had been favoured by both the monarchs of the Tudor line. Sir Henry Wyatt, the father of the poet, one of the most approved counsellors of Henry, had suffered imprisonment in the reign of Richard the Third, on account of his adherence to the house of Lancaster; and tradition has handed down a story of his having been saved from starvation in the Tower by a cat, which daily conveyed to him a pigeon from a neighbouring dovecote. Possessing the claim which old services bestow upon the gratitude of a sovereign, Sir Henry found no difficulty in introducing his son at

court, and the accomplishments and good qualities of the young man improving his interest with the king, he was made one of the esquires of the body, and soon obtained the confidence and favour of the monarch. To a talent for poetry, resembling, although inferior, the genius of Surrey, Wyatt united dexterity and valour in military combats; and evincing in his conversation a rare union of wit with discretion, he manifested the power of surprizing and delighting, without the disposition to degenerate into satire. Rising himself, yet not desirous to retard the elevation of others, the saying which soon became proverbial, "that a successful courtier must have visited Wyatt's closet," proves how frequently the accomplished poet displayed inclination, as well as ability, to serve his friends.* Attached to the tenets of the reformed faith, which were disseminated in this country before Wyatt had attained manhood, the poet is said to have accelerated the suppression of the monasteries by a suggestion conveyed as a jest. During a conversation with the king on that subject, Henry observed to Wyatt that he apprehended great alarm would be entertained throughout the country if the crown were to resume the immense property hitherto possessed by the church. Wyatt, who saw that

* *Nott's Life of Surrey and Wyatt*, vol. ii. p. 15.

this scruple might produce hesitation and perhaps obstruction in the measures then in progress, replied, "True, sire; but what if the rook's nest were buttered?" It is said, that Henry took the hint, and by distributing some portion of the church lands to the nobility, diminished the danger and odium of the unpopular proceedings. It is supposed also that, more than once, Wyatt, in the playfulness of easy converse, proposed to his sovereign matters of importance, which scarcely his most favoured and faithful counsellors would have dared to suggest; so great was the ascendancy which talents and an agreeable address acquired over the opinions of the capricious, but discriminating Henry. To these advantages Wyatt combined others, which added still greater interest to his abilities in the eyes of the king, who, like many wiser and better men, was not exempt from the weakness usually attributed to the female sex, of being easily attracted towards an individual by external advantages. Wyatt was noble in figure, commanding in deportment, and almost god-like in face. The various pictures of him by Holbein present to the view a countenance of which no influence of association, nor difference of taste, could destroy the charm, imparted by symmetry, dignified with expression. In the poems of Surrey, the enthusiastic friend of Wyatt, there is a corrobor-

ation of those impressions, which might, perhaps, have been heightened by the delightful pencil of Holbein.

" An eye whose judgment no effect could blind,
Friends to allure, and foes to reconcile ;
Whose piercing look did represent a mind,
With virtue fraught, reposed, void of guile ; —

" A valiant corpse, where force and beauty met,
Happy, alas ! too happy, but for foes,
Lived, and ran the race, that nature set,
Of manhood's shape, where she the mould did lose."

It is not in the nature of things to possess preeminent advantages and distinctions, without incurring dangers, either from the envy of others, or from the weakness and indiscretion into which prosperity often ensnares the most virtuous minds. Wyatt encountered perils from both these causes. Seduced by the temptations of the court, his " folly and unthriftiness," as he asserts in his letter to his son, " brought him into a thousand dangers and hazards, enmities, hatreds, prisonments, despites, and indignations ;" and that " God had of his goodness chastised him, and not cast him clean out of his favour ;" he imputes only to the mercy of his heavenly father.* The " naughty unthriftiness," of which Wyatt declares himself to have so earnestly repented, was expiated by an early and sincere

* See *Letter's of Wyatt to his Son, Nott's Life of Wyatt*, p. 269.

reformation, and by an ardent desire to promote a true sense of religion, not only in his children, but throughout the country to which he belonged. To the devout enthusiasm of Wyatt, the age in which he lived was indebted for a translation of the Psaltery of David, as well as for a version of the penitential Psalms of the royal poet, neither of which has remained; "the pious Thomas Sternhold, and John Hopkins," being, as Warton observes, "the only immortal translators of David's Psalms."

To the artifices of the invidious and designing, the noblest specimens of humanity are often the most exposed, and these dangers were experienced by Wyatt in no ordinary degree, without, however, proving fatal to him, as they were to his friend the Earl of Surrey. It was through the intimacy which subsisted between Wyatt and Surrey that an acquaintance originated between Anne Bullen and Wyatt. That celebrated woman was now at the English court, in which she was destined soon to perform an important part. Nearly allied to the ancient house of Howard, Anne was not, however, by her father's side, of noble or of high descent. Sir Godfrey Bullen, the founder of that branch of the family from which she sprung, was a younger brother, necessitated from that circumstance to seek his fortune in the city of London; but afterwards,

obtaining the paternal inheritance from the death of his brother, he became rich; attained the honour of being Mayor of London *, and married the daughter and heiress of Lord Hoo and Hastings. The two successive descendants of Sir Godfrey married women of rank; and the union of Sir William Bullen with one of the daughters and coheiresses of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, and that of his son, Sir Thomas Bullen, with the Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, induced a connection between the Bullens and many of the most illustrious families in Great Britain.† From the last of these marriages, was born the beautiful, unfortunate, and calumniated Anne Bullen.

Lady Elizabeth Bullen, the mother of Anne Bullen, although unjustly stigmatized as a woman of profligate character by Sanders ‡, was respected at the court of Henry, and participated in several of the diversions mentioned by Hall and Holinshed, in which persons of the highest rank and importance only were associated with royalty. Sir Thomas Bullen, her father, was employed in various offices of honour and trust, and was

* *Fuller's Worthies.*

† The name of this noted family is here spelt Bullen, simply upon the authority of Dugdale (see *Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 306.), who gives it in that manner. It is frequently spelt Boleyn.

‡ *Sanders, De Schisimatu Anglicani*, p. 16.

finally raised to the peerage, by becoming Earl of Wiltshire and of Ormond.

Whatever was the domestic influence likely to have been exerted over Anne, she was early removed from its benefits, or its contamination; and, passing into France in the train of Mary, sister of the king, and afterwards queen of that country, Anne remained there during that period of her life in which the manners and principles are for the most part permanently formed. In the service of Claude, the wife of Francis the First, Anne is said to have imbibed the vices of a gay and licentious court; and upon her removal to that of the Duchesse D'Alençon, is affirmed to have received impressions favourable to the Protestant religion. These assertions rest more upon conjecture than evidence; and little is actually known of Anne Bullen until her return, shortly after the battle of Pavia, to England, whither she was probably obliged to hasten, on account of the disturbances which were likely to ensue in France, upon the captivity of the king, especially as it was expected that the English would seize this opportunity of making an invasion upon the neighbouring country.* At this time, Anne is supposed to have been about twenty years of age, the date of her birth neither being

1514.

* *Le Grand. Hist. du Divorce de Henri et Catherine.*

exactly known, nor her birth-place, which is conjectured to have been in the metropolis.* The return of Anne to her native country was not, however, in all probability, the first introduction by which she became acquainted with the English court, and there is every reason to conclude that she was present at the field of Ardres with Queen Claude, and that she had witnessed the splendour and glory of her countrymen on that occasion.†

The personal appearance of Anne Bullen has been variously described, and her enemies have even thought it not beneath their consideration to vilify her in this respect; not recollecting that in disparaging her person they have exalted her mind, which, if unassisted by the force of beauty, must have possessed a remarkable degree of excellence, to have ensured the constancy of Henry for a considerable period. The countenance of Anne, notwithstanding the assertion of Sanders, that it was sallow, as if from the effects of jaundice, appears from the pictures which were painted of her, to have been pleasing, if not beautiful. Her face was oval, her hair dark, and her eyebrows peculiarly arched; but her mouth was the most beautiful feature ‡ in her physiognomy. Her figure was allowed, even by her calumniator,

* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 61. † *Herbert*, p. 185.

‡ *Sanders*, p. 16.

Sanders, to have been elegant, tall, and slender; and her throat, which was represented by the same historian to have been disfigured by an unnatural swelling, was, according to her well-known speech during her captivity, proverbially small. Notwithstanding the imputed defect of a supernumerary finger, and the conspicuous deformity of a projecting tooth *, as alleged by Sanders, she was allowed by contemporaries to have been worthy of comparison with her successor Jane Seymour, a woman of acknowledged beauty; and it was remarked by Sir John Russel, afterwards Earl of Bedford, who was present at the marriage of the king to Queen Jane, "that the king was the goodliest person there;" but of the queens she gave this note, "that the richer Queen Jane was in her clothes, the fairer she appeared, but that the other, the richer she was apparelled, the worse she looked."†

The education of Anne had been carefully directed, and her skill in music and dancing was such, that "when she composed her hand to play, and voice to sing, it was joined with that sweetness of countenance, that three harmonies concurred; likewise when she danced, her rare proportions varied themselves into all the graces that belong either to rest or motion."‡

* *Hill.* † *Herbert*, 451. ‡ Ibid. p. 285.

To these acquirements Anne united a taste for reading, which, at a subsequent period of her life, was directed to works of a theological nature*; and if all the letters ascribed to her be genuine, especially that written in her captivity, her style of composition had a strength and pathos which characterize a mind of no ordinary stamp. But that which probably gained universal and dangerous admiration to the unfortunate Anne, was a playfulness of manner, conspicuous in her conversation during her days of thoughtless prosperity, and never wholly forsaking her under the aggravated sorrows which she afterwards encountered.

Upon the return of Anne to England, she was preferred, through the interest of her parents, to be one of the maids of honour to Queen Katharine, and it was in that situation, as it has been conjectured, that she first fired the youthful fancy of Wyatt. The grounds upon which the probability of this attachment rests, are not wholly to be depended upon. It appears, that Wyatt afterwards incurred the displeasure of his sovereign from a reputed passion for Anne, which, being connected with the fate of that unfortunate person, will be more explicitly detailed hereafter. It is certain, however, that both these highly-gifted individuals were present, at the same time,

* See *Strype's Mem.* vol. i. p. 172.

at the court festivities in this year *; that their youthful enjoyments, acquirements, and tastes were similar, and that a considerable degree of intimacy subsisted between them. Happy would it have been for Anne, if she had possessed the wisdom and firmness of character which eventually guided Wyatt in safety through the dangers of this perilous reign.

The pleasures of the English court were interrupted, during this year, by various untoward circumstances. The commissioners for levying the contributions which the king, or rather the cardinal, demanded for the expences of the war, had met with no success. The clergy refused to pay, affirming that they were not bound by any law but such as had passed in convocation; while the citizens of London, who had submitted a private valuation of their several estates and effects to Wolsey, were now ungenerously taxed according to that valuation, concerning which they had received a promise of secrecy. In the different shires indignation prevailed against this unpopular measure, and bills were posted, some affirming that the "king had not payed what he borrowed;" others, that "whatever was granted no good came of it;" others, that "the cardinal had sent all the money to Rome;" in short,

1525.

* *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 60.

"when this matter," says Hall, "was opened through Englande, howe the greate men toke it was a maruell, the poore curssed, ye riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion, all people curssed the cardinal and his coadherentes as subversors of the lawes and libertie of Englande."*

In this state of irritation, the citizens of London were the first to refuse compliance with the required benevolence, alleging that such a mode of contribution had been forbidden by a statute in the first year of Richard the Third; and, although the Cardinal represented to them that Richard was an usurper, and that his acts were not binding, yet, the mayor and common council refused, with propriety and spirit, to act against a statute which had been enforced by the parliament.

Throughout the country the resistance was similar, and where severe measures were enforced, the people rose in open tumult. In Suffolk, the duke by courteous words persuaded the rich clothiers to assent to the loan; but when they returned home, and prepared to discharge their workmen, and to limit their payments, in order that they might meet the new expences demanded from them, the people began to assemble in multitudes, and the duke was

* *Hall*, quarto, 696.

obliged to order that their arms should be taken from them. When this command was published the rage of the populace increased, and Brandon, with all his popularity, deemed it necessary to gather around him such slender forces as he could collect for his defence. He was quickly joined by the Duke of Norfolk; and the two peers, haranguing the assembled malcontents, demanded the cause of their displeasure, and was answered by their leader that "poverty was both cause and captain." The dukes, perceiving that want of employment and loss of wages had influenced their proceedings more than a seditious spirit, promised the rioters to intercede in their behalf with the king, if they would return home in quietness. This mild and judicious conduct had the desired effect, and the poor men testified their repentance on the following day by coming to St. Edmond's Bury in their shirts, with halters about their necks. They were all forgiven, without any other punishment than a temporary imprisonment of a few of the ringleaders.*

Henry was greatly annoyed by these effusions of discontent on the part of his people, and probably began to perceive that the arbitrary and violent measures into which the advice of Wolsey had betrayed him, were likely to prove the source

* *Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 525.

of serious inconvenience. The favourite probably felt some alarm at the king's displeasure, of which he had lately received a proof in a severe admonition which he received from Henry concerning the suppression of the monasteries, in which the king had been informed that Wolsey had used too much rigour; the Cardinal, therefore, in the council, which was summoned at York House, and at which the king was present, took the odium of all these measures upon himself. A proclamation was issued, declaring that the commission for levying the benevolence should cease, and that all who had resisted its power should receive the king's pardon. Then the lords kneeled down and thanked the king heartily. It was announced, however, in the declaration, that the unpopular measures now suppressed had been recommended to the cardinal by the opinion of the judges and of the privy council, and that he had been privately averse to the plan.*

The active mind of Wolsey was next occupied in the formation of a household, suitable to the rank of his god-child, the Duke of Richmond.† It appears that Wolsey had not only the direction of young Fitzroy's affairs, but of his education, and that from the Cardinal's mediation proceeded much of the soli-

1525.

* *Hall.* † See *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 265.

citude which Henry manifested in the nurture of this youth. The letter, which has been recently published from the Cottonian manuscripts, from Fitzroy to Wolsey, is written by the duke, purposely to show his progress in writing, and to express his resolution to "applye his tyme to the attaynyng and encreas off lerning, vertue and cunninge." With regard to the kindness which he had experienced from Wolsey, Richmond expresses himself in terms of the utmost gratitude, declaring that "no creature living was more bound unto the cardinal than he was," and that he owed the kindness shewn him by the king in a great measure to the "meanes and good favour" of Wolsey.* This letter is the first testimonial of the particular tie which bound Wolsey to the duke; and the Cardinal appears to have fulfilled the important office of sponsor with a degree of assiduity and judgment creditable to his disposition.

June 18, 1525. It was in consequence of the recent elevation of Wolsey's young charge to the peerage, that it was, now, deemed necessary to give him an establishment suitable to his rank. The directions for the household of the infant prince are given in the name of the Cardinal, and present a miniature copy of the royal establishment. The little nobleman, then six years of age, had his chancellor, his

* *Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 265.

chamberlain, his usher and groom of the chambers, his treasurer, almoner, attorney, secretary, and all other officers usually placed around the person of a prince of the blood. The regulations for his table are very minute, and the provisions assigned both for flesh-days and fish-days are of a simple, but delicate nature, suitable to the infantine years of Fitzroy; they consisting chiefly of "pottage, boyled mutton and beef, capons, wilde fulle, turbots, sturgeon and fresh-water fish," all specified, in rotation, according to the ancient system. Three gallons of ale are allowed to the duke's board at dinner, and one gallon at his breakfast, of which beef and mutton formed the principal materials.*

The next care of Wolsey was to frame another household for the Princess Mary, who was one year older than the Duke of Richmond. It appears that considerable court was at this time paid to the princess, as the heir apparent to the crown, for we find her council, during this year, providing against the great repair of strangers expected unto the "princesse' honourable household," by requesting Wolsey to allow them a "ship of silver for the almes disshe requisite for her high estate, and spice plats, as also for trumpetts and a rebek to be sent; and to know whither they should appoynte any lord of mys-rule for the saide honourable household, pro-

* *Harleian MS.* 589. 192.

vide for enterluds, disguysings or pleyes in the said fest, or for banket on Twelf Night."* It appears, too, that this household was continued, upon nearly the same plan, during the greater part of this reign, with an intermission of a few years, notwithstanding the change which afterwards took place in the expectations of this unhappy young princess; for in 1539, various entries occur in the household book of the princess, which prove her establishment to have had some, at least, of those superfluities and luxuries usually allowed to persons of the blood royal.†

The interference of Wolsey in matters which belonged not to his province, excited afresh the jealousy which constantly rankled in the breasts of the other courtiers towards him, and "wise men becked, and light men laughed, thynkyng great foly in his high presumpcion‡," when they saw this indefatigable minister descend from the prosecution of his designs upon the papacy, and

* *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 271.

† "*Item*, payed for a yerd and a halfe of Damaske for Jane the fole, vijs." "*Item*, for shaving of Jane fooles hedde iiijd," (was the buffoon assigned to the princess one of her own sex?) Her expences do not seem to have been limited: "*Item*, payed for one pounde and a halfe of gold, for embrawdering of a night gown, lxs." Also "*Item*, payed for a boye of Mr. Launder, for his costs at scole and byndyng him prentise, lvs." *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 273.

‡ *Hall*, p. 703.

his extended views in favour of learning, to regulate the wages of servants, and the component parts of a dinner. Indifferent to the general sarcasm, and wisely considering no object of utility as beneath his attention, Wolsey took his own course, and, in a few months afterwards, began the arduous office of reforming the household of the king, and reducing it to a more economical system. The new arrangements were framed at Eltham, by various members of the privy council, under the direction of the cardinal.

Jan. 8. 1526.

It was found, on an inspection of Henry's domestic concerns, that many officers of the guard, having lived in the service of the preceding king, had become very old, and that they now required servants, who were paid by them to perform those services to which these aged domestics were insufficient. The incapacitated officers were therefore discharged, and sent into their several counties, and younger men were put in their places, with double salaries, being obliged to perform their duties without assistance. The dismissal of so many old servants necessarily created great dissatisfaction, but was one of those necessary, although unpopular acts, which are sometimes expedient, and result from conscientious motives in those who have the management of affairs. It must be observed,

that Wolsey, who was greatly beloved and respected by the inferior domestics in his own household, as his subsequent misfortunes proved *, had not the cruelty to turn these poor people away without a provision, as they had still their pay as yeomen of the guard.† It is more than probable too that many abuses were discovered by the vigilant eye of Wolsey, which revealed in no very favourable colours these spoiled and pampered attendants upon Henry, who was one of the most undignified and injudicious masters in existence; and whose indulgence and familiarity towards the younger part of his household had already, as it has been stated, required the interference of his council. Some extracts from the ordinances framed by Wolsey, which, from the place whence they were dated, obtained the name of the "statutes of Eltham," evince, that the correcting hand of the Cardinal was not brought into action before it was absolutely required. These regulations are entitled "articles devised by his royal highness with the advice of his council for the establishment of good order and reformation of sundry errors and misuses in his household and chambers." They are dated, "apud Eltham, mense Jan. 22.;" the day on which Wolsey is

* *Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.*

† *Hall*, p. 707.

stated, by Hall, to have concluded his labours: the year is not mentioned.*

In the first place, "The servants are enjoined not to steal any nobleman's locks or keys, tables or forms, when his highness (as the king is here termed,) goes out to visit." "Master cooks are not to employ such scullions as go about naked, nor such as lie all night on the ground before the kitchen fire." "All unthrifty and common women that follow the court to be banished; no dogs are to be kept, except a few spaniels for the ladies; dinner is to be at ten, and supper at four. Between six and seven in the morning the proper officers are desired to make the fire in, and to straw his highness's chambers." "The officers of the privy chamber, who had it seems again transgressed, were to leave off hearkening and inquiring where the king goes, be it early or late going to bed, or any other matter." This injunction was the more necessary as the passion of the monarch for Anne Bullen had now begun to be the subject of conversation. "The six gentlemen of the privy chamber are to have a diligent look to his grace that by his look and countenance they may know what he lacks, or what is his pleasure:" "Mr. Norris," who afterwards fell a victim to the jealousy of his master, "was to be

* *Archæologia*, vol. iii. pp. 157, 158.

gentleman waiter, and was alone allowed to follow the king to his chamber." "William Brereton was to be groom of his chamber, and young Weston page of it." The morality and cleanliness of the barber are next enjoined, and a gift is promised to every officer who marries, as also to each person who brings his highness a present. Then follow certain proclamations: "All vagabonds and beggars are to depart the court;" "no person is to hunt or hawk within four miles of the king's houses." The royal residence, it seems, was not only infested with vagabonds, but with unbidden guests, for "all noblemen and gentlemen who have repaired to the parliament are commanded to depart to their own houses under pain of his highness's displeasure; or to be further punished as the king and his council should think fit." So much for the morals of this unruly household. It appears that the victualling department wanted some revision by the injunction that "no manner of meat, except such as is of a convenient and reasonable price, to be provided." "Coals are only to be allowed for the king and queen's, and for the lady Mary's apartments." "Twenty-four loaves a day are allowed to the grey-hounds," the expence of which probably occasioned the prohibition of any dogs in the household, except a few spaniels for the

ladies. "The messes for his highness's table are settled both for fish-days and flesh-days," and among other provisions for the former a porpoise is named; "if too big for a horseload, a further allowance is to be made for the purveyor." "The queen's maids of honour are to have a chet loaf or manchet (a small loaf,) a gallon of ale and a chine of beef for their breakfast." "Neither hops nor brimstone were to be put in the ale." A proportionate distribution of "prichets, sizes, and wax lights" is enjoined.

It was during this year that Wolsey finished the splendid palace of Hampton, the site of which he had purchased from Lord St. John, and presented it to the king. According to Dr. Fiddes, the partial biographer of Wolsey, this gift, the most splendid that any monarch of England ever received from a subject, was merely an offering of gratitude, on the part of the minister.* The public, however, at the time of the donation, considered it as a measure of policy to ward off those attacks of envy to which the prosperous are ever liable, and to which Wolsey, from his lowly origin and his haughty demeanour, was peculiarly exposed. The building of this splendid monument of Wolsey's taste and magnificence, was not entirely completed by him, but was finished by

1525.

* *Fiddes*, p. 373.

Henry, who gave in return the manor of Richmond to the Cardinal. Henry was now rich in mansions, which in his time first assumed the form of palaces. To the improvement of these, both in respect to architecture and internal embellishment, Henry contributed so greatly, that he has been styled by Harrison the "onelie phenix of his time for fine and curious masonrie *;" and Leland, in the eighth volume of his Itinerary, inserted a memorandum in the following words: "remember to conclude with promise to write a booke in Latine of the king's edifices, as Procopius did of Justinian's the emperor."†

The favourite abode of Henry was Greenwich, built by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, upon the side of the Thames, four miles east of London, and first called Pleasance. It was "greately inlarged," says Harrison, "by King Edward the Fourth, garnished by King Henry the

* See *Description of England in Holinshed's Chron.* vol. i. p. 329. Quarto.

† In the Harleian MSS. 1419, there is the following list of royal manors belonging to Henry the Eighth: Hampton Court, Otelands, Nonsuch, Windsor, Woodstock, The More, Milnwood, Vauxhall, Nottingham, St. John's Bedington. To these must be added, Greenwich, Eltham, Dartford, and afterwards Knole in Kent, presented to Henry by Cranmer. *Hasted's Hist. of Kent*, p. 340.

Arch. vol. vii, p. 120.

Seventh, and finally made perfect by King Henry the Eighth."* This royal dwelling was preferred by Henry to the neighbouring palace of Eltham, probably on account of its more convenient situation with regard to the metropolis, which was readily accessible by the Thames; since before the frequent use of coaches, water carriage was employed by persons of the highest rank, and every nobleman and wealthy citizen had his pleasure boat and barge.

Eltham, which had been an ancient and favourite residence with our monarchs, was neglected by Henry the Eighth, notwithstanding its noble hall, which afforded a spacious and magnificent place of assembly, either for business or pleasure. This beautiful structure, which in the present day is appropriated to agricultural purposes, and is designated "King John's Barn," was considered in the reign of Henry, as one of the most elegant specimens of light and florid architecture in the vicinity of London. The windows of the hall were light and elegant. From the roof, which was adorned with elaborate work, descended inverted gothic pinnacles; while in the recesses of two bow windows ornamented with tracery, stood two side boards, or cup boards as they were then called; and at one extremity of the apartment was a screen, run-

* *Description of England*, p. 392.

ning before the offices, and containing a gallery for music. The entrance to the palace was adorned by Henry the Seventh with a handsome front, and in the time of that king, Eltham was the principal seat of the court, both Henry and his officers generally making use of the great hall as a dining-room. From the frequent assemblage of the parliament here, in earlier times, it had acquired the name of the parliament chamber. In this, as in other similar places, a small window was constructed looking from one of the royal chambers into the hall, and thus commanding a view of the scene of business or of amusement. This contrivance was, however, usually concealed by arras, which could be withdrawn at pleasure.* At Eltham, Henry the Eighth occasionally kept his court; he was induced probably to fix upon that mansion for that purpose on account of the spaciousness of the hall, which exceeded those of his other palaces, with the exception of Westminster. He afterwards conferred the farm and lands of Eltham upon Sir Henry Guildeforde, master of the horse, for the term of forty years †, in reward probably of the long services received from that ancient courtier.

Another residence of this king, which he preferred to Eltham, was Nonsuch, in Surrey,

* *Arch.* vol. vi. p. 368. † *Hasted's Kent*, p. 51.

celebrated for its banquetting house and its gardens, and for every accommodation necessary for comfort and enjoyment. As we are apt to associate ideas of gloom and darkness with ancient dwelling houses, it is worthy of remark that Nonsuch appears to have combined all that is agreeable, useful, elegant, and comfortable within its precincts. The banquetting house was built in the form of a square, with four corners in the shape of a half moon, round each of which ran a "belcone" (balcony) "placed for prospect."* To this edifice were attached offices, in which was included a deep well, with a wheel for winding up water, then the laborious method of obtaining that necessary article. From a survey taken in 1650, when Nonsuch was probably nearly in the same state as in the reign of Henry the Eighth †, it appears that the pleasure grounds were particularly extensive, and, according to the formal notions of the day, agreeable. The gardens of this period were generally

* *Arch.* vol. vii. p. 120.

† Nonsuch was surveyed by order of the parliament, with a view to taking it down and selling the materials. It had belonged to Henrietta Maria wife of Charles the First. It is melancholy to think of the devastations in the time of Cromwell. In the beautiful park of Nonsuch, when the survey was made, 2000 trees had already been cut down for the navy, and 805 were marked. The house was in excellent repair. *Arch*, vol. vii. p. 120.

what we should now call orchards, for, before the reign of Henry, vegetables were little cultivated, although not, as it has been asserted, entirely exterminated, like many other good things, during the continuance of the civil wars.* Fruit trees were carefully nurtured, and Henry, who promoted almost all the arts of social life, lent his patronage to horticulture, and had the honour of introducing the Kentish cherries.† But we are not to take our notions of the gardens of this period from the present state of those of Hampton Court, which were greatly improved by Mary, the consort of William the Third, and of which the wilderness and the orchard can only be referred to the time of the first possessor of that mansion. The pleasure grounds of most of the palaces belonging to Henry, included generally an orchard, a wilderness, a bowling-green, and a private garden, ornamented with pyramids and figures, and enclosed, as at Nonsuch, by a hedge of "lelack trees, which trees," as the surveyor affirms, "bear no fruite,

* The common story of Queen Katherine of Arragon, sending to Holland for a salad, is not borne out by fact. Most of the common vegetables now in use were at that time known, although not plentiful. Potatoes were introduced into this country, although rare, and they were either roasted in the embers, or dressed with oil, vinegar and pepper, as "a meat for pleasure." *Andrews's Hist. Great Britain*, vol. i. p. ii. p. 335.

† *Arch.* vol. vii. p. 125.

but only a very pleasante flower." The kitchen garden at Nonsuch, divided into quarters and rounds, and surrounded by hawthorn hedges, was probably the work of a later period.

In return for the present of Hampton Court, Henry bestowed upon Wolsey the manor
1525. of Richmond, an old and favourite residence with the late king, and with Henry in the early part of his reign. It was particularly galling to the ancient servants of Henry the Seventh to see the recent habitation of their sovereign occupied by one whom they considered as an upstart, and they joined in the popular outcry against Wolsey, concerning whom it was remarked, that strange things had come to pass since a "bocher's dog should live in the manor of Richmond."* Notwithstanding these reflections, Wolsey kept his Christmas at Richmond with unusual splendour, and found no reason to complain of the reluctance even of some of the very murmurers, to attend his summons to the gay festivities of his board. It happened, somewhat unfortunately for Wolsey, that the prevalence of the sweating sickness caused Henry to keep his Christmas at Eltham, with a small number of persons, who were appointed to attend the court by special command, contrary to the custom at such festivities when the board

* *Hall.*

was usually spread to all comers. This unwonted seclusion, on the part of the king, was called his still Christmas, and was remarkably contrasted with the open house, "with plaies and disguisyngs in most royal manner," which the Cardinal maintained at Richmond.

1526. Meanwhile events of considerable importance were gradually brought about both on the continent and at home. The connection between foreign politics and the domestic concerns of Henry were, at this period of his reign, so intimately connected, that it is impossible to comprehend either, without a detail of both.

The cause of the French king had latterly gained considerably in the favour of Wolsey, whose indignation against the emperor on account of his conduct with respect to the papacy, found fresh fuel in the altered style of that monarch towards him. Before the battle of Pavia, the appellations of "*son*" and of "*cousin*," subscribed by Charles's own hand, flattered all the weakness of the Cardinal's great but inconsistent character; but the prosperity of Charles having now rendered him almost independent of Britain, his epistles to the haughty favourite were merely signed by his name, and written by secretaries. This grievance added to previous disappointments, the solicitations of Louise for

assistance in the liberation of her son, the little hope afforded by the emperor of establishing Henry's favourite claim on Normandy and Guienne, and, above all, the insult subsequently offered to his pride in the rejection of his daughter, determined the King of England and his minister to lend their utmost aid to the captive Francis. That unhappy prince desiring, since he could not enjoy liberty, a change of prison, and hoping, by a removal to Spain, to obtain an interview with his ungenerous rival, effected by his intreaties this object of his wishes, but found it productive of no visit of kindness, no soothing attention from the emperor. At length, his harassed spirits produced a fever, which, at last, procured him an interview with Charles, who began to fear the death of his prisoner. This concession on the part of Charles, and some expressions in which he knew well how to temper an appearance of compassion, accelerated the recovery of Francis; and the parliament of France, prompted by Louise, having acceded to terms the most repugnant to the French king, and the most advantageous possible to the emperor, the two monarchs bade each other farewell, with every outward demonstration of regard; and Francis, passing his children, whom he surrendered as hostages, on the river of Fontarabia, returned to his native soil.

March 17, 1526.

Among the concessions made by Francis to Charles, that which most concerned England related to the pension of 130,305 crowns which had formerly been stipulated as a pension to be paid yearly by Francis to Henry, and which the emperor had engaged to defray, in order to lure the King of England into a treaty with him against France. This condition was annexed to many others, which Francis bound himself, on the word and honour of a prince, to execute, or to return as a prisoner into Spain. But Francis, probably, never intended to fulfil them, and considered that the exorbitance of these demands, to which he had acceded in a situation of urgent distress, excused his want of faith. On reaching his own territories, his temper, naturally lively, and exhilarated by the recovery of his freedom, broke out into the joyous expression, "Je suis roi, je suis roi," and hastening to Bayonne, he there declared his intention of not yielding any of his dominions to Charles, as agreed in the terms of his liberation. The satisfaction of Henry at his deliverance was manifested by congratulations to Francis, of which Sir Thomas Cheney was made the bearer; but these were not the first proofs which our king had given of his real solicitude for the welfare of the imprisoned monarch. Before the liberation of Francis, the league, entitled Clementinian,

had been entered upon, by the instigation of Henry, but was not concluded until May 17th, 1526, when it was signed at Coignac, in France, May 22d, on the part of the Duke of Milan, the Venetians, the King of France, and the Pope, who to colour the open breach of promise which formed the basis of this alliance, sent a dispensation to Francis of all the oaths exacted from him during his imprisonment.

The situation which Henry held in relation to these united powers, was such as to flatter his sense of importance and his vanity. After consulting with his council, it was decided that he should maintain his character of judge between the belligerent powers, and that, in this capacity, he ought not to be considered as a party engaged on either side. He was therefore nominated Protector of the League, in which, however, his interests and his passions were as much engaged as if his name had been placed among the allies.* Henry had recently received fresh cause of irritation against the emperor. It had ever been a favourite scheme of the English

* Among other circumstances which tended to draw him into this situation, was an article in the treaty of Coignac, offering to the King of England, if he would accept the title of protector of the league, or to his son, the Duke of Richmond, a dutchy in the kingdom of Naples, the value of 30,000 ducats; and a yearly pension of 10,000 ducats for the Cardinal of York. See *Hall.*

monarch to unite the young Princess Mary to Charles; and the treaty of Windsor, in 1522, had confirmed his hopes in this respect, and had probably formed the only firm bond that had ever united him to the Spanish monarch. Charles, however, never heartily relished the contract; his desire of an heir to his dominions made him regard an union with so young a bride as inexpedient, and a decree of the Cortes that he should not quit Spain until he had hopes of succession, rendered a consort of a mature rage essential to him. He had therefore recourse to an excuse which stung Henry to the soul, and which eventually proved more injurious to a branch of his own family than he probably had anticipated; this was, an objection to the legitimacy of the princess; an impediment which he allowed the King of England little time to consider, for shortly after the liberation of Francis, he married Isabel, sister of the King of Portugal, who had been offered for his acceptance.

When the emperor was informed of the Treaty of Coignac, he inveighed in bitter terms against the inconstancy of the Venetians, the perjury and treachery of Francis, and the ingratitude of Clement the Seventh, whom he had himself raised to the papal chair; and he resolved to divide, if possible, these united powers. The armies were, however, levied on the publication

of the league in Italy, July 8th; but Francis, whose paternal affection was agitated by the situation of his two sons as hostages with the emperor, hesitated before he placed his forces in the field, and made a last proposition to the emperor to ransom these children for two millions of crowns. Charles, although in a situation of some embarrassment, yet was firm to the Treaty of Madrid, and replied, that Francis was bound by his engagements to return as his prisoner, if the hostages were restored. Francis now looked to England as his chief support in a war which his resources were ill calculated to maintain: he, therefore, dispatched ambassadors to England, to renew the treaties formerly made with Henry, with a stipulation, that neither France nor England should assist the emperor in any invasion of either territory.

April 28, 1526.

The French ambassadors were received at Greenwich, where John Joachim, afterwards called Monsieur de Vaux, and the President of Rouen, extolled, before the Spanish and Italian envoys, the generosity of the King of England in not availing himself of the disasters of Francis, to invade his kingdom. To this harangue, Sir Thomas More, now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, replied, "that since the King of France acknowledged this forbearance and

generosity on the part of the English, their honour was piqued to continue a similar line of conduct." On the following day the treaty was signed, but it was followed by no active measures on the part of Henry, who found himself constrained, for want of money, to leave the weal of Christendom to its fate. He passed the summer, therefore, in a war less expensive and more innocent; and in the pleasures of the chace forgot, or looked with indifference upon, the turmoils of his less peaceful neighbours.

In the month of May, this year, Henry, who although by his fondness for gambling, he
1526. had encouraged the prevalent taste for that species of dissipation, yet issued a proclamation against all unlawful games: under this appellation were included all games of chance, and bowls; and every implement for such amusements was seized and burned. But this arbitrary enactment was of short duration; for it was found that the young men, debarred from recreations of this nature, employed their leisure in poaching, and other outrages; and the evils attending the new regulations so much exceeded the benefit, that the dice-tables, cards, and bowls, were again permitted. * It was not the usual policy of Henry to debar his people from enjoyments which he well knew how to appreciate;

* *Stow.*

and there were few amusements in his court to which the lower orders of the people were not admitted as spectators. The unpopular endeavour to abolish games of chance was therefore ascribed to the Cardinal, and it was murmured, that he "who grudged every other man's pleasure, spared not his own." *

On some occasions, however, the love of Wolsey for amusement, and especially his patronage of the drama, was checked by the suspicion of satire directed against himself, through the medium of scenic representation. It was during the Christmas of this year, that a "goodly disguising," as the old chroniclers designate it, was performed at Gray's Inn; it consisted of an allegory, which was evidently intended to convey some political sarcasm. It represented Authority, swayed by Dissipation and Negligence, by means of whom Public Weal was driven from her station; whereupon, the Voice of the People, urged by Disdain of wanton government, prompted a great multitude to arise, and to banish Negligence and Dissipation; this being done, Public Weal was restored to the high place which she had a right to fill, by the side of Authority. This masque, which had been written, according to Hall, twenty years before, by John Roo, a serjeant at law, was set forth with costly dresses,

* *Hall.*

and embellished by various mummeries and devices; and, besides the simplicity and paucity of the plot, required the assistance of such auxiliaries in order to give importance to this spectacle. It was, however, greatly approved by the audience, and resented by the Cardinal, who affirmed that it was highly displeasing to the king. So completely did the minister lose all sense of justice, and of his own dignity, in the irritation produced by this incipient effort of the comic muse, that he committed "Master Roo" to the Fleet, and deprived him of his legal dignity: the young men who had performed in the play, were also severely reprimanded, and one of the principal heroes in the drama was threatened with imprisonment. *

Henry now made several ineffectual attempts to effect a truce between the emperor and the parties concerned in the league, but no disposition for peace was manifested by Charles. Indignant, therefore, at the imprisonment of the Pope, and at the usage which Clement had received from Moncada, the Spanish general, under whose guard he had been placed, Henry resolved to cement his friendship with Francis by a separate treaty, which should not involve him in the various obligations of the Clementinian league, with many of which, this country

* *Hall*, p. 719.

had little or no concern. In pursuing this line of conduct, the King considered himself as acting in the character of the arbiter of Christendom, and believed that in that capacity he was justified in joining against a prince who refused all terms of pacification. He had also another motive of union with Francis. That prince had never received his promised bride Leonora of Castile, the sister of Charles, who by the treaty of Madrid, had been affianced to him, and there seemed little probability that this article would be complied with by the emperor, when the remaining clauses were still unperformed by Francis. Henry had much at heart the aggrandizement of his family by a splendid union, and disappointed hitherto in his hopes of a male heir, he looked on that account with the greater anxiety to the marriage of his daughter. Finding that Francis was disappointed of his Castilian bride, he dispatched Sir William Fitzwilliams to Francis, with a proposition that the young princess should be forthwith betrothed to Francis, or to his son the Duke of Orleans: but refusing to deliver her into the hands of the French king, even should Francis agree to this contract, on account of her extreme youth, as the young princess had not at that time attained her twelfth year. This difficulty intervening, Francis dispatched the Bishop of

Dec. 24, 1527.

Tarbe and several other commissioners to England, to treat with Henry concerning the match. During the course of this negociation, the pride of Henry again received a severe mortification. Notwithstanding that a firm compact was concluded and sworn between the two princes, various doubts concerning the legitimacy of the young princess were expressed, during the progress of the diplomatic business, by the French ambassador; of these objections, though at the time galling to the high spirit of Henry, he afterwards availed himself, when his inclinations led him to consider them as valid. *

The pecuniary exigencies of the king now induced him to adopt a proceeding at once disgraceful and injudicious; that of debasing the coin of his realm, both in gold and silver. In this measure, he acted in opposition to the example of his father, who had left the coin in a state of standard purity; and in whose reign the large and beautiful gold pieces called 'sovereigns,' of the value of forty-two shillings, were issued. The coinage in the early part of the reign of Henry the Eighth was similar, in kind and weight, to that of his predecessor; the gold coins consisting of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, ryals and half-ryals, nobles and half-nobles. But instead of adopting a sys-

1526.

* *Lord Herbert*, 197.

tematic and resolute economy, when the exhausted state of his treasury suggested the necessity of such a measure, the king had recourse to the expedient, first of diminishing the weight of his coins, and afterwards of mixing them with alloy. This debasement was the source of much confusion in commercial transactions; and occasioned, also, considerable difficulty in restoring the coinage to its standard purity. *

Although the king had been driven to these humiliating resources to supply his necessary expences, and although general complaints of poverty prevailed in the country, his entertainments to the French ambassadors were conducted with more than usual costliness, and with all the fancy and gaiety that had ever marked the amusements of the court. At one of these, a solemn joust was first performed, after which a banquet was held, in a building erected for the purpose, in the tiltyard at Greenwich. After the supper, which, says Hall, "it were too long to reherse, so various were the stratagems of dishes, and devises of beasts and fowles," the king and queen, accompanied by the ambassadors, proceeded to a long gallery; and, on their way, Henry called the attention of the whole party to a picture of Therouenne, besieged by the English, which, in conformity to his usual custom, he

* See *Hall*, 718.

had caused to be painted in commemoration of that event; a strange recollection to revive in the minds of Frenchmen, at a season of festivity! When various orations and processions were concluded, the Princess Mary appeared in a pageant, of which the chief personages were six lords clad in the Icelandic fashion, who led out partners, and, in the words of the chronicler, "daunsed lustily about the place." This exhibition was succeeded by another masque, in which the king and others were attired as Venetians. The splendid dress in which Henry figured, was presented by him to the Viscount de Turenne, one of the ambassadors. So rich were the decorations of the banquetting house, that it was left standing for some days in order that the multitude might obtain a sight of its costly devices.

While overtures were on foot concerning the marriage of the Princess Mary, her future consort, Philip the Second, son of the Emperor Charles the Fifth of Spain, was born at Valladolid, May 21st, 1527.

Charles now made a last effort to prevent a fresh treaty between England and France, and aware of the odious light in which his conduct to the pope might place him, in the opinion of Europe, he addressed a letter to Henry, requesting the advice of the king, and disclaiming all know-

ledge of the steps which his forces had taken, and all approbation of the consequences of those measures. But Henry, who began to apprehend that Charles might aim at universal monarchy, did not feel disposed to relinquish his league with Francis.* Wolsey was, therefore, deputed to treat personally with the French king; and preparations were made to receive him at Calais with the pomp that usually attended his movements. Before he quitted the kingdom, he enjoined a fast of four days in the week, to be observed, as a tribute of condolence for the captivity of the Pope; and commanded the bishops of each diocese to institute processions to certain shrines, for the relief of the imprisoned Pontiff. But these orders were received with contempt both by the clergy and laity, who were either indifferent to greatness when shrouded by adversity, or among many of whom the doctrines of Luther had disseminated a spirit of indifference towards the supreme head of the church.† That Henry entertained sentiments of respect for the sovereign pontiff which were as lively and as zealous as ever, his conduct at this time sufficiently proves, for Wolsey was the bearer of a large sum of money to be forwarded to his Holiness; a present which was regarded with much jealousy and

* *Herbert.* † *Hall*, 729.

wrath by the English, who justly considered, that their impoverished country had not the ability to be generous.

Wolsey now set forward on his embassy, in which it was his ambition and the vanity of the king, that he should appear in the most magnificent style. He began his journey, therefore, with a long retinue of servants, riding on mules, two and two, and followed by a train of sumpter mules, carts, and carriages. Before him were borne his two crosses and pillars of silver, the great seal of England, his Cardinal's hat, and a gentleman who carried his valaunce or cloak-bag, made of fine scarlet cloth, embroidered with gold, and containing a cloak of fine scarlet. Thus he journeyed, abiding, when he rested, at the houses of the nobility and clergy, or at some commodious convent. At Canterbury the cardinal remained four days, in order to solemnize the feast of St. Thomas, the patron saint of that city; on which occasion, a litany was sung for the captive Pope, at which, as Cavendish himself affirms, "he saw the lord cardinal weep very tenderly*;" a circumstance, which, considering the views which Wolsey had recently entertained respecting the papacy, it is no very uncharitable conjecture to suppose a piece of hypocrisy.

Having crossed the Straits of Dover to Calais,

* *Cavendish, Edit. by Singer*, vol. i. p. 88.

Wolsey now proceeded slowly through Boulogne and Abbeville to meet Francis, from whom he had received authority, seldom granted except to a king, to release prisoners as he went. Having arrived at Amiens, Wolsey was soon fully occupied in receiving dispatches from the emperor, and in communicating their contents to Henry.

Among other points specified in these letters, Wolsey mentions a proposition which he had received from Charles, to marry the young Duke of Richmond to the daughter of the King of Portugal, with Milan for a dowry; a scheme which was never seriously meditated. The Cardinal, also, enforced the necessity of silencing those rumours which had begun to prevail, concerning a divorce between Henry and Katharine, and of maintaining a good understanding with the emperor.

The conference between Wolsey and Francis at Amiens turned chiefly upon the marriage between the Duke of Orleans and the Princess Mary; the mode of assistance to be adopted for the release of Clement; and the means of obtaining the hostages from Charles. When these matters had been discussed, the King of France and Wolsey repaired to Compiegne, where the Cardinal was appointed vicar-general of the Pope in England, during the captivity of Clement. This

event, in the opinion of Lord Herbert, was the foundation of Henry's subsequent determination to become the head of the church; for, after having once tasted ecclesiastical power, he felt little inclination to relinquish it. That historian imputes likewise to Wolsey a disposition to be extremely arbitrary in church affairs, which his history corroborates: and so well was his character in this respect understood, that a report, at this time, prevailed among the Imperialists, that the Cardinal of York designed to make himself Pontiff both in France and in England. Wolsey now bade Francis farewell; and, journeying to
Sept. 16. Calais, soon touched the shores of England, and arriving at Richmond, was received with apparent affection and approbation by the king.*

As the privy council were not informed by the cardinal of the motives which produced the negociation, little joy was manifested at the conclusion of a peace concerning which the people knew so little. Wolsey, however, assembling the mayor and aldermen of London, the judges, and justices of every shire, and the lords spiritual and temporal, extolled, in a pompous harangue, the advantages to be derived from the alliance lately concerted with France, by which he prognosticated that the king, his master, would become

* *Herbert*, p. 209.

one of the richest among princes, from the yearly treasure which he was promised to receive from that country. This oration, according to the chroniclers of the times, was regarded with contempt by those who were present, as actually conducing not to the glory of the king, but of the cardinal.

Soon after the return of Wolsey, Montmorenci, afterwards Constable of France, and Du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, landed at Dover, on their mission from the court of France, the chief object of which was to invest Henry with the order of St. Michael; while, on the other hand, Viscount Lisle, the natural son of Edward the Fourth, was dispatched to France to present to Francis the collar and habit of a knight of St. George. The ceremony of receiving the order of St. Michael was performed at Greenwich, and was succeeded by the usual round of diversions, which were closed by a play, performed by children, representing the captivity of the pope, the intercession of Cardinal Wolsey with the kings of France and England in his behalf; and the successful interference of Wolsey, in obtaining the liberation of the young princes who were left as hostages in the power of Spain.* But soon afterwards the favour of Wolsey was shaken by his indiscretion in the following proceeding.

* *Hall*, p. 737.

During the course of this year, Gerald, Earl of Kildare, deputy governor of Ireland, was summoned by the privy council to answer for his conduct in favouring the party of the Earl of Desmond, who had been detected in intriguing with the French court. Kildare, who was a man of boldness and spirit, replied to the declamation which Wolsey delivered against him, in the council, with great ingenuity; but was committed to the Tower, as it was proved that some of his family had taken an active part in the disturbances which harassed Ireland. The king, however, had no intention of putting him to death; but Wolsey, who owed him some old grievances, had the audacity to send a warrant for his execution. The officer who was entrusted with this commission, favouring Kildare, informed the king of the proceeding, who, indignant at the presumption of the cardinal, reproved him severely for it; and, not only pardoned the earl, but sent him back into his own country.* This conduct on the part of Wolsey, which was not only illegal and imprudent, but unjust and cruel, was soon after followed by other disclosures, which incensed Henry yet more against his minister, and contributed to shake the stability of the eminence to which that aspiring politician had now attained.

* *Stowe*, p. 531.

CHAP. II.

Mortifications sustained by Henry with regard to the Princess Mary. — Meditates a divorce. — Causes of his indifference to the Queen: — his supposed infidelity. — Sir John Perrot. — The conduct of Wolsey: — reason of his dislike to Katharine. — The King's attachment to Anne Bullen: — her engagement to Lord Percy; its discovery and conclusion. — Character of the Earl of Northumberland: — of his son. — Aversion of Anne Bullen to Wolsey. — Prudent conduct of the Queen. — Dangers of Wolsey's situation. — The Dutchess of Alençon proposed as a wife to Henry: — who confesses his passion for Anne to Wolsey. — The Bishops summoned: — their indecision. — Decree of the English and foreign Universities; of the Bishops, finally. — Embassy to Rome. — The artifice and delays of Clement. — Dispensation and commission of Legacy granted. — Campeggio, as Legate, delays going to England. — Wolsey's letter to him. — Proceedings of Katharine. — Invention of a Breve, to support her cause, by the Emperor: — her resolute conduct. — Charles determines to protest against the Divorce. — Uncomfortable state of affairs.

THE pride of Henry had received a severe mortification in the negociations with
1527–8. France, which had recently occupied the attention of his council; and the wound thus inflicted, had revived the recollec-

tion, and renewed the bitterness, of other grievances. The objections, offered by the Bishop of Tarbe, against the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, had added a fresh sting to the similar allegations with which Charles the Fifth had excused his breach of contract with regard to that princess. The repentance which Henry the Seventh had, on his death-bed, expressed for the permission which he had given to the marriage between Henry and the widow of his brother; and the attestation of Archbishop Warham, "that it could be acceptable neither to God nor to man," now derived an importance in the eyes of the king which they had not possessed, when, after the death of his father, expediency and inclination had prompted a confirmation of this union.

There existed, however, secret reasons, which more powerfully influenced the mind of Henry, on this occasion, than the opinions of others, or the insults offered to the heir apparent of his throne. At the period of his marriage with Katharine, youth, propinquity, and the amiable temper of the queen, made him forget the discrepancy of their age, and the dissimilarity of their dispositions. Katharine was, however, grave and reserved, was indifferent to amusements, and joined in them only as a matter of complaisance to her husband.

Her personal advantages, even in the best of her days, consisted rather in dignity and in majestic deportment, than in that blooming beauty which charms a youthful fancy. The strictness of conjugal fidelity had, already, been broken by Henry, in his connection with Lady Elizabeth Talbois *; but this appears to have been a singular instance, for there are merely conjectural circumstances, before the appearance of Anne Bullen, to prove, that while the king respected Katharine, he was not regardless of younger and more attractive objects.

It has been said, however, of Sir John Perrot, a courtier on familiar terms with the king, " that if his picture, qualities, gestures, and voice, be compared with those of the king, they would strongly support the supposition, that he was a surreptitious child of the blood royal."† From this casual and idle observation, it is, however, scarcely fair to impugn the character of Lady Perrot, or to stigmatize the birth of her son as illegitimate, although it does not appear that Sir John had any of those delicate and correct feelings, which would have rendered such a remark very painful to him. He was, in truth, a blustering and ferocious knight, whose

* Lady Talbois was afterwards married to Lord Clinton, who subsequently espoused the fair Geraldine.

† *Naunton's Regalia.*

gigantic size and stature appeared almost terrific, from the violence and fearlessness of his disposition. The reputed son of Sir Thomas Perrot, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Henry the Eighth, and of Mary Berkely, a lady of gentle birth, Sir John was first noticed by Henry for a rencounter more creditable to his valour than to his morality. He was afterwards employed in taming the Irish; but having manifested both cruelty and indiscretion in his conduct in Ireland, during the reign of Elizabeth, he was attainted by order of that queen, and died in the Tower a few months after his trial.*

It is probable that Henry would long have remained contented with Katharine as a wife, even if he had looked for the attractions of youth and beauty elsewhere, if the sons whom she had borne to him had survived, or if she had still appeared likely to have been the mother of a living child. This hope had, however, been abandoned, even by the queen, after repeated disappointments by which her health had been impaired, and her spirits depressed; and Henry, whose religion was that of scholastic reasoning, and not of the heart, felt no inclination to bear the dispensations of Providence with calmness, or to submit to them from a principle of duty.

* *Grainger's Biog. Hist.* vol. i. p. 241.

He mourned for the loss of his children, therefore, rather as a king than as a parent; and, like a petulant child, began to dislike her whom he considered as the cause of his blasted hopes. Without these considerations it is more than probable, that the objections of conscience would have had but little influence with this capricious and hard-hearted monarch.

The root of discontent being thus firmly planted, there was no want of auxiliary causes to strengthen its growth. The doctrines of Luther had taught men to question the authority of popes to dispense divine laws, in which light the Mosaical injunction not to marry a brother's wife was considered. * The curse of childlessness denounced upon him who should break this commandment, might be applied to the king, since one only remained of the infants to whom Katharine had given birth. The objections of foreign princes, also, to the legitimacy of the Princess Mary, might teach a similar lesson to his people, when she should become queen, and might create embarrassment in the succession, an evil which was in those days especially formidable to the country, but recently recovered from the cruel consequences of civil contentions. Above all, the king, when he began to open his mind upon the matter, declared that his conscience suffered grievously,

* *Herbert*, p. 244.

for this unlawful union, notwithstanding the dispensation of Julius the Second; and that his scruples had for seven years deterred him from considering the queen in the light of a wife, although still on terms of friendship with her, and in the habit of evincing towards her every possible mark of outward respect.

That these dispositions in the mind of Henry were brought into a state of fermentation by the counsels of Wolsey, is not denied by some of the warmest eulogists of that minister *; nor can it be alleged as any cause of censure against the Cardinal, that he desired to annul so unfruitful a marriage, and to procure a chance of undisputed succession to the throne; these reasons are sufficient to justify that minister, without entering into the moral obligation which Thomas Aquinas, the favourite author of Wolsey and of the king, conceived that the Levitical laws imposed upon Christians. The anxiety which Wolsey manifested for the divorce, in the first instance, was, however, generally imputed, in common with the rest of his actions, to interested motives; and it was alleged, that it proceeded from a wish to mortify the emperor, to whom he attributed the repeated frustration of his hopes respecting the papacy; and from a desire to strengthen the union with Francis, by a

* See *Fiddes's Life of Wolsey*, p. 432.

marriage between the king and the Dutchess D'Alençon, sister of that monarch.

It was a circumstance which naturally induced suspicions of Wolsey's agency, that Longland bishop of Lincoln, who first suggested the divorce to the king, was wholly in the interests of the Cardinal. It was in 1519, that Longland first occupied the situation of confessor and lord almoner to the king, an office which afforded him frequent opportunities of long and intimate converse with Henry. The prelate who thus obtained the confidence of his sovereign, was not merely a weak and cunning person, the tool of a superior, acting from compliance with the instructions of a stronger and more designing character, and lending himself to intrigues from paltry motives of interest; the contemporaries of Longland, says Wood*, "esteemed him for his exemplary life and conversation," and his eloquence in the pulpit procured him the high office which he held. Although Longland, subsequently, proved a cruel persecutor of the protestants in his diocese, yet, he was much respected at Oxford for his liberality in relieving and even supporting many indigent scholars at that university, of which he was the Chancellor; and Wood affirms, that he has seen many letters addressed to Longland from the heads and students of universities, in which he was even compared in

* *Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 73.

beneficence to Joseph the Patriarch.* Since such was the character of the man to whom Henry, in the solemn secresy of confession, first breathed his real or pretended scruples concerning his marriage, it is possible, that a person of decided abilities and learning may have answered those murmurings from the suggestions of his own mind, without having recourse to the opinions of others. However this may have been, Longland expatiated openly and boldly on the subject, and was at first more zealous for the divorce than even Wolsey himself, never denying the part which he had taken, but declaring his sentiments on all occasions. †

It was also asserted by the queen, and her partizans, when the affair had blazed abroad, that Wolsey had a bitter cause of malice against the virtuous and scrupulous Katharine. His dissolute conduct, and his arrogant demeanour, so inconsistent with his sacred functions, had been the theme of her open animadversion, and the cause of her dislike to the Cardinal; and this, it was affirmed, he could not forgive. If this were the case, and if the counsels of Wolsey respecting the divorce were offered to Henry from selfish and sinister motives, he was justly punished, since his own ruin was the consequence of that pro-

* *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 73. (2d edit. 1721.)
† Ibid. vol. i. p. 73.

ceeding. However the affair may have originated, Henry, when once his mind was fixed upon it, could never be dissuaded from prosecuting it, nor wholly disheartened of its success. A stronger passion than a desire of succession, distaste to Katharine, or religious fear, occasioned a degree of perseverance in the conduct of this self-willed monarch, which would exonerate him from the charge of instability, could we forget many of his actions; and which refutes the truth of the proposition advanced by Lord Herbert, that Henry was a "prince of whom no one thing may be constantly affirmed."

During the king's visits of kindness, or of ceremony, to the queen, his fancy was charmed by the beauty and grace of the young and sprightly Anne Bullen, who then attended as maid of honour to Katharine; it was during a masque at Hampton Court, when the French ambassadors, with the exception of Du Bellay, took leave of the court, this new passion of Henry was first observed by the public.* Of this entertainment Cavendish has given a minute description, because it was almost the last of those festive occasions in which Wolsey appeared with the king, and which he had the honour of preparing for his sovereign. On this

* *Le Grand. Histoire du Divorce de Henri et Catherine.* vol. i. p. 50.

occasion, as Du Bellay, Bishop of Bayonne, affirmed in a letter to the Court of France, Henry danced with Anne Bullen, and the Dutchess of Suffolk with the Vicomte de Turenne; and it was on the very day on which this gay scene took place, that objections were urged against the birth of the Princess Mary by the Bishop of Tarbes. The unfortunate and mortified queen was not present at this festivity, so triumphant to her rival. She was already apprized of the trials which awaited her, by Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, upon the instigation of Wolsey, previous to the recent journey of the Cardinal into France, had visited Katharine, informed her of the conscientious scruples which had arisen in the mind of her husband, and entreated her to submit to the humiliation which was prepared for her.* This intelligence plunged the unhappy princess into the deepest distress, but neither overcame her fortitude, nor deprived her of her wonted consistency and firmness; and her resolute and prudent conduct is the more to be admired, since her mind had not been prepared for the blow, by any previous intimation of those sentiments which now prompted the conduct of her husband; the protest against the marriage with Katharine having never been signified, either

* *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 60.

to her or to her father, King Ferdinand.* Meanwhile Anne Bullen had not been without her troubles, nor the king without other rivals besides Sir Thomas Wyatt. The story which has been variously told, is thus narrated by Cavendish, who was in part an eye witness of the transaction. The events recorded in the narration had taken place some time previous to the journey of Wolsey into France.

"Now was at that time the Lord Percie, "sonne and heire of the Earle of Northum- "berlande, attending upon my lord cardinal, "and was his servante; and when it chaunced "the saide lorde cardinal at any time to repaire "unto the courte, the Lord Percie would re- "paire then for his pastime into Queen Ka- "therine's chamber, and there would he fall "into dalliance with the maides, being at the "last more conversante with Mrs. Ann Bulleine, "than with any other, so that there grewe such "a secrette love betweene them, that at the "length they were ensured together, intending "to marrye. The whiche thinge when it came "to the king's knowledge, he therewith was "mightily offended. Wherefore he could no "longer hide his secret affection, but he re- "vealed his whole displeasure and secrets unto "the cardinall in that behalfe; and willed him

* *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 35.

" to infringe the assuraunce made then between
" the saide Lord Peircie and Mrs. Ann Bulleine.
" Insomuch as, the lord cardinall, after his
" retourne home from the courte to his house
" in Westminster, being in his gallery, not for-
" getting the king's commandment, called then
" the saide Lord Peircie into his presence, and
" before his servauntes, then attending upon
" him, saide thus:—

" ' I marvaile not a little,' quoth he, ' of thy
" folly, that thou wouldest thus entangle and en-
" sure thyselfe with a foolish girl yonder in the
" courte, Ann Bulleine. Doest thou not con-
" sider the estate that God hath called thee unto
" in this worlde? For after thy father's deathe,
" thou art most like to inherit and enjoye one
" of the noblest earldomes in this kingdome.
" Therefore, it had beene most mete, and con-
" venient for thee, to have sued for the consent
" of thy father in that case, and to have also
" made the king's highnesse privy thereof.' "
After this and similar exhortations, the cardinal thus proceeds, still addressing himself to the young lord. " ' But now see what you have
" done through your wilfullness. You have not
" only offended your father, but also your loving
" sovereigne lord, and matched yourselfe with
" one, such as neither the king nor your father
" will be agreeable to the match. And hereof

" I put thee out of doubt, that I will send for " thy father, and at his coming, he shall either " breake with this unadvised bargaine, or else " disinherit thee for ever. The king's majestie " will himselfe complaine to thy father on thee, " and require no lesse than I have saide, whose " highnesse intending to have preferred Anne " Bulleine to another persone, wherein the king " hath already travelled, and being almost at a " pointe with the same persone for her, although " she knoweth it not, yet hath the kinge, like " a most prudent and politike prince, conveied " the matter in such sorte, that she, upon his " grace's motion, will be, I doubt not, righte " glad and agreeable to the same.' ' Sir,' " quoth the Lord Peircie, all weeping, ' I know " nothing of the king's pleasure herein, for the " which I am very sorry. I considered I am " of good yeares, and thought myself sufficient " to provide me a convenient wife, whereas my " fancy served me best, not doubting but that " the lord my father would have been right well " contented. And although she be but a simple " maide, having but a knight to be her father, " yet she is descended of right noble blood and " parentage. As for her father, he is descended " of the Earle of Ormond, being one of the " earle's heirs general. Why should I then, sir, " be any thing scrupulous to matche with her,

" whose estate and descente is equale to mine,
" even when I shall be in most dignity? There-
" fore, I most humbly require your grace of
" your favour herein; and also to intreat the
" king's majestye most humblye, on my behalfe,
" for his princely favour in this matter, the
" whiche I cannot forsake.' ' Soe sirs,' quoth
" the cardinal unto us, " ye may see what wis-
" dome is in this wilfull boies heade. I thoughte
" when thou heardest me declare the king's
" pleasure and intendment herein, that thou
" would have relented, and put thyself and thy
" voluptuous acte wholly to the king's will and
" pleasure, and by him to have been so ordered,
" as his grace should have thoughte goode.' "

The enamoured Percy was not, however, easily persuaded to give up the object of his choice; and it was deemed necessary to summon his father, the Earl of Northumberland, from the north, to enforce the obedience of his son to the wishes of the king. The expostulation of the earl with his son is a specimen of the fatherly admonitions distributed in those days of paternal authority; exhortations which would not be tolerated in this period of youthful independence.

Seating himself in a gallery of the cardinal's house, the earl sent for Lord Percy, to whom, standing before him, he addressed the following

grave harangue. " 'Sonne,' quoth he, 'even as " thou art, and allwaies hast bin a proude, licen- " tious, disdainfull, and very unthrifty waster, so " hast thou now declared thyselfe. Wherefore, " what joy, what comforte, what pleasure or " solace shall I conceive of thee, that thus with- " out discretion hast misused thyselfe, having " neither regard unto me thy naturall father, nor " unto thy naturall soveraigne lorde, to whome " all subjectes loyall bear faithful obedience; ne " yet to the wealthe of thine own estate; but " hast so unadvisedly assured thyselfe unto her, " for whome thou hast purchased the king's " highe displeasure, intolerable for any subjecte " to sustaine? And, but that his grace doeth " consider the lightnes of thy head, and wilful " qualities of thy person, his displeasure and in- " dignation were sufficient to cast me and all " my posterity to utter ruine and distruction. " I pray God, that this may be unto thee a suf- " ficient admonition to use thyselfe more wisely " hereafter; for that I assure thee, if thou doest " not amend thy prodigality, thou wilt be the " last earle of our house. For of thy naturall ' disposition thou art inclined to be wastfull " and prodigall, and to consume all that thy " progenitors have with greate travaile gathered " and kept together with honour. But having " the king's majesty my singular good and gra-

" cious lord, I trust, I assure thee, so to order
" my succession, that ye shall consume thereof
" but a little. For I doe not intend, I tell the
" truth, to make thee mine heire; for, thanks
" be to God! I have more boies that I trust will
" prove much better, and use themselves more
" like unto wise and honest men; of whome I
" will chuse the most likely to succede me."*
" Now, good masters and gentlemen,' quoth the
" earl, ' it may be your chaunces hereafter,
" when I am deade, to see these things as I
" spake them. Yet in the meane season, I desire
" you all to be his friends, and tell him his faulte,
" wherein you shall shew yourselves friendly
" unto him. And here, (quoth he,) I take my
" leave of you. And sonne, go your waies in
" to my lorde your master, and attend upon him,
" according to your dutye.' And so he departed,
" and went his way down the hall into his barge.

" Then after long consultation and debating
" in this the Lord Percie's late assurance, it was
" devised that the same (meaning the contract
" of marriage,) should be infringed and dissolved,
" and that the Lord Percie should marry one of
" the Earle of Shrewsbury's daughters. And so
" he did, indeede, after this; by meanes whereof
" the former contract was dissolved; wherewith

* *Cavendish, L. Wolsey.—Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. p. 368.

" Mistress Anne Bullen was greately offended,
" promising if ever it lay in her power, she
" would worke much displeasure to the cardi-
" nall; as after she did in dede. And yet he
" was not in blame altogether; for he did no-
" thing but by the king's devised commandment.
" And even as my Lord Piercie was commanded
" to avoide her companye, so she was discharged
" of the courte, and sent home to her father for
" a season; whereat she smoked, for she knew
" nothing all this while of the king's entended
" purpose."*

This relation, which is here given at length, on account of the importance which it is afterwards proved to be to Anne Bullen, derives interest also, as we have already stated, from the specimen which it affords of the parental reproof exerted in those days of strict authority, unsoftened by the sensibilities of paternal fondness. The Earl of Northumberland was, it is true, one of the most severe parents and rigid disciplinarians of his time; and the " Regulations and Establishment of his Household," printed in 1770, by one of his descendants, present a system of domestic order and economy which is rarely supposed to exist in the higher ranks, and which is quite at variance with the profuse notions of the nineteenth century. Yet,

* *Cavendish.*

although every regulation was framed upon a principle of thrifty management, this nobleman lived in a style of magnificence resembling that of a royal court. Like all the principal nobility of the time, his household was formed in the same manner as that of the monarch: his officers had the same titles; and he issued his warrants in the style and mode adopted by the king. The Earl of Northumberland had his council selected from his principal officers, with whose assistance he framed his code of economic laws; and the constables and bailiffs of his several castles entered into waiting in succession, like the grooms and lords of the bed-chamber. The number of priests maintained in his house might have supplied a cathedral; he had a doctor of divinity presiding as dean of the chapel, and a complete set of men and choristers for the quire.* This brief account may suffice to shew how conformable the habits and style of the earl were to his deportment as a parent. On public occasions he displayed magnificence unequalled at the court of Henry the Seventh; and, when he conducted Margaret, the wife of James the Fourth, from Northamptonshire to Lamberton, in his office of Warden of the Marches, the splendour both of his own and of his attendants appearance, so far exceeded that of the Scots, that he was

* *Collin's Peerage*, vol. ii. p. 307.

regarded, says Hall, "more as a prince than as a subject." Other circumstances, also, conferred a degree of importance on the character of this powerful noble. At a period when the peers of the land were almost universally illiterate, he encouraged the arts, by the erection of monuments in Beverley Minster, to the memory of his father and mother, and of his countess; and these, which are in the style of the purest Gothic, remain to this day, lasting proofs of his munificence, and of his taste for the arts. The earl, also, was the patron of Skelton, and the founder of a school for grammar and philosophy in the abbey of Alnwick. "But still stronger proofs of the literary turn of this nobleman," says Warton, "especially of his singular passion for poetry, may be collected from a very splendid manuscript, which formerly belonged to this very distinguished peer, and which is at present preserved in the British Museum. It contains a large collection of English poems, elegantly engrossed with vellum, and richly illuminated, containing some pieces by the pen of Lydgate and of Skelton; a metrical history of the Percy family, by one of his chaplains; and various poetical inscriptions, which he caused to be inserted on the walls and ceilings of his castles of Wresil and Lekinfield."*

* *Warton, Hist. Poet.* vol. ii. p. 338.

Of so illustrious a father, Henry Algernon Percy, sixth Earl of Northumberland, and the lover of Anne Bullen, was the unworthy and unfortunate son. Nurtured, it is probable, with all the rigour then exercised towards children, he was removed at an early age to the house of Wolsey, the abode of dissipation and of luxury; where he saw little to excite him to virtue, and where the harshness and neglect of that prelate fixed in his mind a hatred towards him, which he never ceased to feel and to evince.* The surrender of the object of his youthful passion proved alike calamitous to her and to himself. Anne Bullen, raised to a dangerous eminence, encountered disasters which in a more lowly situation might have been evaded; Lord Percy, constrained to form a choice which his heart disclaimed, wedded the Lady Mary Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no living issue to strengthen a tie which wanted the bond of offspring to cement it. This unhappy young nobleman, who avowed in his letters the wretchedness of his connubial life, died at Hackney, ten or twelve years after he had formed this union, and after being almost constantly in a state of separation from his wife.

* See *Cavendish*, Edit. by *Singer*, vol. ii. p. 247. Letter from the Earl of Northumberland to the Earl of Arundel.

His widow, of whom few particulars have transpired, sequestered herself after the death of her husband at Wormhill, a seat belonging to the Talbot family, amidst the romantic neighbourhood of the Peak.*

Fulfilling the prediction of his father, the unfortunate earl acquired the name of "Henry the Unthrifty," from the debts which he contracted, and which obliged him to sell many of his estates. Infirm in constitution, he yet survived the object of his early passion; but the attainder and execution of his brother in 1536, gave the death blow to, and closed his miserable existence.

With the hope that some of his estates might one day be restored to his family, who were then all attainted, the Earl had bequeathed some of the larger to the crown; and this expectation was afterwards realized. His descendants had the mortification of seeing the title of Duke of Northumberland bestowed, in the succeeding reign, on John Dudley; but, in the reign of Mary, the house of Percy was again invested with its own and with additional honours.†

Such was the fate of the early attachment, which threw a gloom over the mind of Anne Bullen: but, however her disappointment may

* *Singer's Cavendish*, vol. i. p. 65. note.

† *Collins's Peerage*, vol. ii. p. 315.

have affected her for a time, it appears that she soon forgot her lover, in the contemplation of those prospects which ambition opened to her view. Her retirement to her father's house was not of long duration, and on being recalled to court, she soon perceived the passion which Henry evinced towards her, and which every day became more apparent; yet she never forgave the Cardinal; and, ignorant of the real instigator of his interference in her concerns, she attributed it to deliberate malice against herself. It was thus that Wolsey, while, in fact, building up the fortunes of Anne by advising the divorce, had the misfortune to be equally obnoxious to her and to the queen.

Meanwhile the attentions of Henry towards Anne Bullen became the theme of general observation; and those who had suits to prefer, or favours to obtain, had recourse to her mediation. Katharine, who in the altered demeanour and attire of Anne, which now assumed a degree of haughtiness and magnificence that displayed her conscious importance, had a confirmation of what report was too malicious to conceal from her. With exemplary prudence, she forbore to evince any jealousy of her aspiring attendant, or displeasure towards Henry. She even professed publicly, that she esteemed Anne the more because the king commended her,

and bore her sorrows in silence, declaring to these in her confidence alone, that she aimed at the character of a "perfect Grisele," as, indeed, says Cavendish, by "her patient actes shall hereafter more evidently to all men be declared."*

The situation of Wolsey threatened immediate danger to his greatness; and the lords of the council, who hated him, perceiving how fit a tool Anne Bullen was for their designs, made her a party in their consultations concerning the ruin of the Cardinal; while he, suspecting their confederacy against him, yet maintained an outward semblance of good-will towards them; and sought to increase his favour with the king by banquets and entertainments, where Henry might enjoy the society of his mistress, free from the restraints of court ceremony. But, while engaged in all the pleasures of courtship, Henry was perplexed and distressed by the difficulties of his condition. Before he had made any explicit declaration of his attachment, either to its object, or to his favourite, he had been advised, in case of obtaining a divorce from Katharine, to select some foreign princess as his future consort; and among others, the Duchess D'Alençon, sister to Francis the First, had so far the preference, that her picture was sent over for the inspection of the

* See *Cavendish, L. Wolsey.*

king.* Henry, incapable of long dissembling his secret emotions, at length, however, confessed to Wolsey his determination to espouse the lowly Anne Bullen; a disclosure which was heard with consternation by the Cardinal, who well knew the enmity borne to him in that quarter. On his knees, he long, but fruitlessly, implored the king to abandon so unequal and unprofitable a connexion, but obtained no other concession than permission to ask the counsel and opinion of divines, and of other men of wisdom and learning.†

A commission was therefore issued, summoning all the bishops of the realm, the men most eminent for learning in Oxford and Cambridge, and the clergy of sundry cathedrals and collegiate colleges, to Westminster, in order to argue the matter of the intended divorce before the cardinal: but, in the first session, no decision was obtained; many, says Cavendish, whose personal attendance on Wolsey gave him opportunities of hearing opinions not generally circulated, declaring "that the king's case was too obscure for any learned man to discuss." In this assembly, it was, however, determined to send commissioners to both the universities, to obtain their opinions upon this intricate subject; and, accordingly, after much opposition, with the

* *Hall.* † *Cavendish.*

assistance of bribery, and with threats of the king's displeasure, a decree in favour of the divorce was obtained from Oxford, but by no means unanimous, several persons of learning and dignity having openly opposed the divorce.* At Cambridge, equal diversity of sentiment prevailed; but, after some disorder and dissension, a decree was also sent from that university, declaring that the "king's marriage was against the law of God." The foreign universities of Lorrain, Padua, Bononia, Paris, and Orleans, returned the same judgment by commissioners who were sent to them, and who were, it is said, laden with heavy burdens of that material likely to produce a favourable reply.†

Upon the arrival of these decrees, the bishops were again summoned by the primate, and they declared, with one exception, the illegality of the king's marriage: Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, alone refusing to put his hand and seal to a decree which he affirmed to be against his conscience.‡

* *Fiddes.* † See *Cavendish.*

‡ That Wolsey favoured the divorce cannot be denied, and it is strange, that Lord Herbert should deny a fact so evident. Nevertheless the cardinal foresaw, and trembled at the consequences of an appeal to Rome. He advised Henry, through the Bishop of Bath, to endeavour to settle the matter in England, and to persuade the queen to accede to that arrangement; to which Henry replied, with his

Thus encouraged to hope for a favourable issue to his wishes, Henry now adopted the advice of his clergy, to appeal to Rome, where he had reasonable hopes of success, from the recent donation of £240,000, which he had made to Clement, to assist him in his extremities. Dr. Knight and Sir Gregory Cassalis were, therefore, employed as ambassadors at the pontifical court, and were commissioned to represent to his holiness the scruples of the king concerning the unlawfulness of his marriage, the pains which he had taken to study the case; and the dangerous consequences resulting from a disputed issue. They were also directed to sue for a bull empowering Wolsey and another cardinal to hold a legatine court, in England, to determine of this matter: to obtain a decretal edict of the pope declaring the king's marriage to be null and void; a dispensation to contract a second marriage, and to legitimize his children by both marriages, if the commissioners should see cause; likewise a pollicitation, declaring that the pope would not revoke any of these acts. This appeal to Rome was treated by Clement with a degree of duplicity

Dec. 5, 1527.

characteristic impatience, "My Lord of Bath, is the bull good, or is it naught? If it be naught, let it be so declared, and if it be good, then it shall never be set aside by-ways by me." *Lord Herbert.*

and evasion which his calamitous situation could alone excuse. At first, being still in captivity, he was thankful to catch at any bond to secure a powerful friend, and he assented to the king's proposition; but when, in the course of a few days, he obtained his liberty, he hesitated, and entreated with tears that, if he should grant a dispensation for the king's marriage, it might not be proceeded upon till he himself should be delivered entirely from the power of the imperialists. At length, however, he delivered the bull and dispensation to Knight, but proposed that when he published and authorized what he granted, it should be contrived that Lautrec, the French general, should appear to force it from him, so that he might have an excuse to proffer to the emperor, who would doubtless be much incensed at any proceeding which militated against the honour of his aunt.*

Knight, not being able on account of infirm health to travel with sufficient rapidity to England, dispatched the commission and dispensation by Gambara, the proto-notary, with all possible expedition. It was not, however, easy to persuade the Pope to send a legate into England, a step which would, he apprehended, embroil him in fresh troubles with Charles: and, after much temporizing and hesitation on the part of Clement,

* *Burnet.*

and a degree of solicitude and address on that of Wolsey, who, in the earnestness of his letters to the ambassadors, and of his representations to the pope, shows how much he really had the divorce at heart, it was thought expedient by the English council to send Stephen Gardiner, the king's secretary, and Edward Fox, his almoner, two of the ablest canonists among the British clergy, to Rome, in order to promote the business of the king with all the address in their power. With this accession to the diplomacy, so great a progress was made in favour of the divorce, that in April 1527 the pope at length consented to send, as legate, Campeggio, who was particularly agreeable to Henry, and attached to the interests of that monarch by the see of Salisbury which he held, and by many other favours. But Campeggio, who preferred the situation he then enjoyed as legate at Rome, and who dreaded lest he might offend in this business either the pope or the emperor, declined for some time to enter upon his new office. When this reluctance was known in England, Wolsey wrote a pressing letter to Campeggio, entreating him to comply with the king's desires, and to bring with him such authority as should render the sentence firm and irreversible. This letter is still preserved, and is written in the hand of Wolsey's secretary: the

conclusion is thus worded: "I hope all things shall be done according to the will of God, the desire of the king, the quiet of the kingdom, to our honour, and with a good conscience." It is a curious fact that Wolsey, who perhaps felt some scruples in invalidating, by the bull of one pope, what had been licensed by another, dashed out, with his own hand, the words "*with a good conscience*," in this document. Hypocrisy was not, it must be allowed, the vice of his powerful and independent mind.

Campeggio, however, did not hasten his journey to England, and this delay afforded the agitated and unhappy Katharine time to contemplate her difficulties, and to take such steps as might best avert the crisis of her fate. She wrote, therefore, to her two nephews, the emperor and his brother Ferdinand, complaining much of the king, and bitterly of the cardinal, desiring the advice and assistance of her relatives, and informing them of the objections, made by the king's advocates, to the bull granted by Julius the Second. The emperor and his brother evinced a determination to protect her cause; but, to obviate the exceptions to the bull, had recourse to an unworthy artifice, which shows, among innumerable other instances, to how low a standard honour is, sometimes, placed in the estimation of statesmen. They caused a breve to be forged, bearing the same date as the bull,

but differing from it in such essential points, that no doubt can be entertained of its spuriousness. This breve, the imperial party pretended to have found at Rome, and they produced it as supplying the principal defects of the bull: but unfortunately for the cause of the unhappy queen, it gained no credence, and a simple inaccuracy of date plainly proved its invalidity. It was, therefore, justly concluded, that a cause must indeed be weak, which required such measures to give it support.

Katharine, distracted by jealousy of Henry's affections, concern for her own honour, and for the legitimacy of her daughter, was somewhat comforted by the assurance which Henry gave to the pope, that the divorce should not affect the interests of the Princess Mary. Solicitous, if possible, to regain the semblance of the king's regard, and to retain his society, she wisely promoted amusements which she had hitherto rather permitted than enjoyed: determined, as she declared, to stand to that marriage which the Roman church had allowed, and not to acquiesce in the decision of partial judges, she manifested her indignation against Wolsey in a manner which proves her to have been of a resolute spirit; nor would she listen to the Archbishop of Canterbury who interceded with her on behalf of the Cardinal, and who represented, that it was only to refute the surmises

of the Bishop of Tarbe that the appeal to the pope had been made. It was in vain too, that Wolsey endeavoured to destroy the rumours concerning the divorce which had gained belief in the court of Spain; for Katharine had her agents there and at Rome, who both reported what was passing abroad, and supplied statements of her affairs to the pope and the emperor. Instigated by her complaints, Charles, after adjuring Henry not to proceed in the divorce as he intended by commission, but to allow a process to be entered into at Rome, finding this remonstrance ineffectual, intimated to the English ambassadors that he intended to send his protestations against the divorce both to England and to Rome.

Affairs were in this unsettled and disturbed state; Wolsey trembling for his power, whether his enemy Katharine were re-established, or his enemy Anne elevated to the throne; Campeggio delaying, and excusing his delays; the pope inclined to favour England, and fearful of offending Spain; Katharine determined not to yield her rights, and Henry resolved not to lose the object of his passion: in this condition, during six tedious months, each party looked anxiously to the arrival of Campeggio to decide the interesting and momentous question which occupied all minds.

CHAP. III.

Katharine of Arragon: her injuries. — Protest of Henry at Bridewell. — Anne Bullen's dismissal from Court: her resentment. — Campeggio's arrival in England. — Illness of Clement the Seventh. — Wolsey again attempts the Papacy. — Charles the Fifth protests against the Legacy in his Aunt's name: enters into a treaty with Clement. — Henry recalls his Ambassadors from Rome. — Dispatch of the two Legates to Rome. — The Imperialists propose an avocation of the cause to Rome. — Proceedings begun in England. — Interview between the Queen and the Legates. — Preparations for the Queen's trial. — The King and Queen cited to appear in court. — Katharine's address to the King: she leaves the court: Henry's commendations of her. — Dispute between Warham and Fisher. — The Queen refuses to re-appear before the Legates: appeals to Rome. — Conduct of the Pope. — Delays of the Legates. — The King consults with Wolsey. — Proceedings of the legatine court. — Intemperate conduct of the Duke of Suffolk. — Henry meets the Legates at Grafton. — Wolsey warned of the King's alienation. — Campeggio obtains leave to depart: insult offered to him before his departure. — Wolsey sits for the last time in Chancery: the Seals required of him: commanded to retire to Esher: an inventory taken of his goods: his abject conduct.

WHATEVER may have been the expediency of those measures which were intended
1528. to procure an undisputed succession to the throne, it cannot be denied, that

they inflicted upon Katharine of Arragon injuries both cruel and unmerited, which could be justified only by necessity. By the queen, the intelligence of the divorce was received as an instance of divine retribution, not, as she declared, "for her own offences, but that her former marriage had been made in blood*;" alluding, by this remark, to the barbarous execution of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick†, who had been put to death by Henry the Seventh, at the suggestion of Ferdinand, King of Spain, in order to insure the undoubted title of Prince Arthur to the crown. By the country, the projected change was regarded as an act of oppression, and of aggravated indignity to one, who had long, as Lord Herbert remarks, been considered as queen, either presumptive or absolute; and whose gentle and correct deportment were, therefore, doubly endeared to the nation by habit and association. The people of England, prone to make every cause their own, and generally judging more from sentiments of generosity than from principles of justice, began, therefore, towards the close of this year, to manifest appearances of sedition, ostensibly excited by the condition of the

* *Bacon's History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh*, p. 196.

† The Earl of Warwick was the eldest son of the Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth.

queen.* That considerable apprehensions of rebellion were entertained at this time by the king and Wolsey, may be inferred with great probability from a manuscript document, containing "Allegations addressed to Her Grace," concerning attempts against the life of the king and of the legate, which were imputed to the "light account which the queen makes of the king;" and intimating, that if any dangers were afterwards to ensue to either of these distinguished persons, they would be laid to the charge of "Her Grace," by which doubtless the queen is designated. †

The sense of the nation was evidently against the divorce, and the people among their murmurs hesitated not to declare their opinion, that whosoever should marry the Princess Mary, would become the rightful King of England on the demise of Henry: the nobles, says Le Grand, thought the same, if they were silent on the subject.‡ The sentiments which prevailed in favour of Katharine were so notorious, and so much suspicion was entertained of the queen, that Wolsey, according to the statement of the French ambassadors, one day declared in the presence of the king and of a large company of nobles and gentlemen, "that the queen

* *Herbert*, p. 258. † *Cottonian MSS. Vitell.* b. 12. 64.
‡ *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 95.

wished to drive the king from England by means of his own subjects." "No person present," continues Du Bellay, "made any comment upon this assertion of the cardinal, except one imprudent person, not specified by name, who incautiously remarked that this single speech would cost the Emperor Charles the Fifth a thousand subjects who were then in this country."* It was not surprising, that the female part of the community proved in general the violent and loquacious partizans of the queen; their emotions of indignation against her enemies were as much excited by envy and anger against the sudden elevation and arrogant demeanour of Anne Bullen, as by a generous zeal on the side of injured innocence. At Oxford, in particular, disturbances of a ludicrous nature arose from the warm expressions of sympathy with the persecuted and unoffending Katharine. It may be observed, without fear of contradiction, that the opinions of the weaker sex are less frequently dictated by interest than those of men, and are usually given with a fearlessness of consequences which secures their sincerity. The testimonies which the public in general gave of disapprobation towards Anne, and of anger concerning the divorce, were sufficiently important to induce the king to call a council at Bridewell, where he

* *Le Grand*, vol. iii. *Letters du Bellay, Bish. of Bayonne*

solemnly protested "that nothing but the desire of giving satisfaction to his conscience, and the care of establishing the succession to the crown in an undoubted line, had first procured him to controvert this marriage; being (for the rest) as happy in the affection and virtues of his queen as any prince living." Moreover, it was thought requisite to inflict a temporary banishment from court upon Anne, who resented this passing eclipse of her greatness with such true feminine sullenness, that her father had great difficulty in persuading her to return; nor did she omit to make her royal lover sensible of her wrath, for some time after her re-establishment at court.

The exile of Anne Bullen has, however, been attributed to a different reason from that assigned by the noble historian. The sweating sickness, called by foreigners "*Sudor Anglicus*," because it everywhere attacked the English, had now made its appearance, even in the very precincts of the court. Called by the lower classes of people, "the new acquaintance*," this cruel malady could no longer be said to deserve that name, since this was the third time during the reign of Henry that this epidemic had raged. Regarded by foreigners as a scourge upon the English, for their recent crimes in the course of

* *Ellis's Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 297.

the civil wars*, this disorder was peculiarly dreaded by Henry, who considered, with Du Bellay, that it was "*La maladie plus aisée du monde pour mourir*†;" and who deemed it not beneath the dignity of a king to devise specifics for its cure.‡ To one of these remedies faith must have been an essential accompaniment; as from the recipe, found among the manuscripts of Sir Hans Sloane, the febrifuge appears to have consisted of mixed infusions, of marygolds, sorrels, burnett, and rue, in handfulls, made with spring water, and strained; "if yt be bytter," says the royal physician, "put therto sugere. And yf it be takyn before that purpulls do apere yt wyll hele the syk persone wyth God's grace." But neither this, nor a "remedy against the plague," also invented by Henry, and sent by him to the mayor of London, seem to have secured the king from the most violent apprehensions of the sweating-sickness. When

* *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 94.

† *Letters du Bellay*. *Le Grand*, vol. iii. p. 138.

‡ Mr. Ellis has presented Henry the Eighth in the new character of an amateur doctor by mentioning a large manuscript collection of "receipts for plasters, spasmadraps, ointments, waters, lotions, dococtions, and poultices, made by the king himself and his physicians."* This work begins with "his majesty's own plastre." "Of the ointments in the volume, fifteen out of fifty were devised and made by the king." *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 297.

* From the Sloane MS. 1074.

it was found that a waiting-woman attending upon Anne Bullen had died of the epidemic, Henry, in the greatest alarm, entreated his mistress to retire from court. He went himself twelve miles from the seat of danger; and moving from place to place, he remained locked up in one apartment, where he occupied his time in making his will, and in receiving the sacrament daily from Wolsey, in company with the queen, who, upon the absence of Anne Bullen, returned to live with Henry as usual. The letters addressed by the king to Anne, about this time, express, however, that his affection and intentions towards her were unchanged, and it appears that the public had just reason for supposing, that there were other causes for her absence besides the dangers of the disease, her ambition being, as Le Grand observes, superior to her fears.

The king, after sending his picture in bracelets to Anne Bullen, expresses his surprize at the report which prevails concerning her resolution not to return to court, the rather, as he says in French, (then even more familiar to the great than it is now,) "*je ne sauroy asses emervellier, ben que depuis je m'assure de vous n'avoir jamais fait faute.*" This sentence, which confirms the general statement of the correctness of that communication which subsisted between the king and Anne Bullen previous to their marriage,

is followed by expressions of great anxiety concerning the sweating sickness, of which, he tells her, that her brother, and others of the court have been ill, but are now recovered; and that he trusts the same good fortune may happen to her, if she should be attacked, "for that few women have taken the disease, or died of it."*

Several gentlemen of the king's privy chamber became victims to the cruel distemper which usually proved fatal in three days, and, among others, Sir William Compton, a favoured attendant upon Henry, and William Carey, Esquire, of the king's body guard, who had been recently married to Mary Bullen.† It appears, likewise, from a letter from Sir Brian Tuke to Wolsey, that Anne Bullen was also seized with a slight attack of the disease, as well as her brother, but was quickly cured, either by the judicious directions of the king, or by the skill of doctor Butts, the chief court physician at that time.‡ It appears also that Henry expressed some alarm for Wolsey, whose active habits, and luxurious mode of living, were likely to endanger his existence if he should happen to be attacked by the epidemic; for, according to the opinion of the king,

* See letters from Henry the Eighth to Anne Bullen, in *Hearne's Abesbury*, from p. 347 to p. 361.

† *Dugdale's Baronage*, vol. ii. p. 305.

‡ *Ellis*, vol. i. p. 292.

it was only from remaining completely covered, and from drinking possets and other sudorific beverages, that any chance of recovery could be obtained.

It was curious, observed Du Bellay, to see the people in the metropolis, during the day on which the French league was signed, soon after the first appearance of the "sweat," rush from the shops and the streets when they found themselves attacked by the symptoms of the disease, "*dru comme mouches*," and plunge into bed, there to remain covered until the fury of the malady might be abated.* In addition to this usual precaution, which Henry strongly recommends, through Sir Brian Tuke, to Wolsey, "his highness," says Sir Brian, "desireth your grace to use small sowpers, and to drinke litel wine, namely that is big, and ons in the week to use the pills of Rasis," or Rhases.† These instructions are dated from Hunsdon, whither the king had retired with a "smal clene company;" but which he afterwards abandoned for Tytenhanger, a place belonging to the abbot of St. Albans, in a house which was so well purified with fires and other fumigations, that both the king and the queen escaped the malady‡, although more than two thousand persons, according to Du Bellay, had been attacked by

* *Lettres du Bellay le Grand*, vol. iii. p. 130.

† *Ellis's Letters*, vol. i. p. 292. ‡ *Hall*, p. 750.

it in the course of two days. As the autumn advanced, the violence of the disease abated; public business, which had been interrupted, was resumed; and Henry appeared likely to obtain the object of his wishes.

Campeggio, notwithstanding his disinclination to the office, and many tormenting attacks of the gout, at length arrived; and made a solemn entrance into England, during the month of October; but refused, when after a tedious journey from Dover he drew near London, to proceed in a triumphal procession to the metropolis, wishing, probably, to give a mournful rather than a joyful air to his mission. He took up his abode, therefore, without pomp, at Bath Place, a house belonging to Cardinal Wolsey, in the vicinage of Temple Bar.*

Nov. 8, 1528.

At the first public interview between Campeggio and the king, every thing went on in the usual smooth and complimentary style; the legate addressed Henry as the "Deliverer of the Pope, and of the city of Rome," with other flattering remarks, particularly gratifying at such a period, from a papal legate: but, in a private conference, the tone of Campeggio was altered. He used many arguments to dissuade the king from the course he wished to pursue; and when Henry resented this interference, declaring that he

* *Cavendish.*

feared the pope had broken his word to him, since it seemed, that Campeggio came rather to confirm than to annul the marriage, he showed him the decretal bull, but refused to let it out of his hands, even for a moment. With all this conduct Henry was greatly dissatisfied, but received consolation from the assurance of Campeggio, that he was desired to address the queen in the name of the pope, and to exhort her to enter into a religious retirement. But this advice, although coming from so revered a quarter, had no weight with the queen, who modestly but firmly replied to Campeggio, that she could not dispose of herself but by the will of her nephews.*

The business of the legacy, as far as it related to the divorce, made no progress during some months. The pope, who had entered into a treaty with the emperor, now bitterly repented having granted the commission, and endeavoured, by not confirming its powers, to delay the process, while he soothed the hopes of Henry with prospects of success. The fears of the emperor entertained by the pontiff, and his dissimulation towards England, seemed, however, threatened with a speedy annihilation, for repeated and violent attacks of sickness interrupted all the proceedings, and endangered the life of Clement. Among the intrigues and cabals which were

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 105.

immediately set afloat with respect to the papacy, the agents of Wolsey took a conspicuous part, and his wishes, it now appeared probable, might soon be crowned with success. But unfortunately for this aspiring man, the pope recovered, and the active canvass, which Wolsey had commenced for the papal chair, having been disclosed to him, he never forgave the Cardinal, and became more and more alienated from him and from his master.

Charles the Fifth had appeared at first inactive in the cause of his aunt, who had sent her chaplain, Abel, to intercede with him in her behalf; but now, when he was reconciled to the pope, and had entered into a treaty with him, the Emperor evinced his resolution to adhere to the cause of Katharine, by protesting, in her name, at Rome, that she refused to submit to the legates; one of whom she considered as her mortal enemy, and the other, Campeggio, as in some measure a dependant of the king of England, in whose realm he held a bishoprick. The English ambassadors made every effort in their power to prevent Clement from receiving this protest; but the pontiff, pretending that it was impossible to refuse its being admitted, tempered this equivocal conduct by fresh protestations of goodwill to the cause of the king. Henry was, how-

May 15, 1529.

ever, no longer to be deluded by such a shadow of friendship, and resolved to begin the process before the legates in England, when Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, whom he considered as the person best calculated to manage it, and whom he recalled from Rome, should, with the other ambassador, Sir Francis Brian, be returned to England.

The two legates, on the recall of the ambassadors, dispatched an address to the pope and consistory, by which it seems evident, that they anticipated the evils which might accrue to the church of Rome, if the differences between Henry and his queen were not adjusted without a public process. They recommended the pope to press the queen to enter into a religious retirement as the only way of pacifying the conscience of her husband; they contradicted the reports respecting the second marriage of the king, which they affirmed was not "so much as thought of;" "for although the queen," as they reported, "were of a rough temper and unpleasant conversation," yet, who could imagine that the king would be at all this trouble to get rid of her, if he were influenced by no motives of conscience to repudiate her. They warned the pope, that if he did not mollify the severities of the law, other remedies would be meditated; and that he would not only lose a King of Eng-

land, but a Defender of the Faith. They declared that the nobility and gentry were irritated by the delays; and complained, that a pope did not hesitate to change and make divine laws, and therefore should have no scruples in reversing what another pope had done; and, in conclusion, declared, that since the king had not recourse either "to the charms of magicians, or to the forgeries of impostors," they expected such an answer as should put an end to the whole matter.*

Clement the Seventh, divided between the English and the Imperialists, went on cajoling and deferring, till by concluding all his terms with the emperor, he could become secure of one party or another. Meanwhile the Imperialists, alarmed at the return of the English ambassadors from Rome, urged an avocation of the queen's cause thither; but it was, now, too late, for on the thirty-first of the preceding month, the king, by a warrant of the great seal, gave the legates power to execute their commission, and to proceed to the trial. All those who wished well to the cause of Henry were now elated with a prospect of success; Wolsey, it was well known, resting all his hopes of retaining the favour of his sovereign on his present services in releasing

June 5, 1529.

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 125.

him from a marriage which had become odious to him; and Campeggio, who was an interested man, being entirely gained over to the king's side, as he had hopes that Henry might promote the welfare of his children, born of a marriage before he entered into orders.* No scruples of conscience would therefore deter him from doing that which best suited his own interest. Henry had already taken especial pains to secure this legate, and had knighted a son of Campeggio whom he had brought over with him.

The dissolute pleasures of Campeggio, who passed his time between hunting, gambling, and the debauchery of loose company†, and the well-known vices of Wolsey, were not calculated to induce much respect to that pontiff whom they represented, and whose authority was, indeed, rapidly declining in England. By such judges, so venal and so licentious, was the fate of the unfortunate queen to be decided; and, as if the sting which Henry purposed to inflict was not sufficiently poignant, he exhibited about this time, in council, a complaint against the woman who had for nearly twenty years shared his throne, and apparently his affections. "The queen," this deposition

* *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 80.

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 125.

affirmed, "had never shewn to the king such love as she ought; and now that the king was pensive, she manifested great signs of joy, by setting on her people to dancing and other diversions." It was also insinuated that she had some part in a design to murder the Cardinal, and that she sought to withdraw the affection of the people from the king, by her unwonted courtesy to them. These accusations were made in order to induce Katharine to retire to a convent; and a conclusion to these allegations were added, by the Cardinal, in Latin, to this effect: "that if she played the fool, if she contended with the king, that her children had not been blessed; together with some hints of the evident suspicions that were of the forgery of the breve."* But Katharine was resolute; and conscious that her character would defy scrutiny, she refused all counsel to enter a religious house, and prepared to take her trial.

Before the day appointed for the trial, the two legates visited the queen at the palace of Bridewell, where both the king and she awaited the hearing of their cause, and gave her a formal intimation that they were appointed judges between the king and her, to determine whether their marriage was in conformity or not with the law of God. "Alas, my lords,"

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 131.

she replied, after she had recovered from the perturbation which for some moments delayed her speech, "is it now a question whether I "am the king's lawful wife, when I have been "married to him nearly twenty years, and it was "never yet a question before? Divers prelates, "yet being alive, and lords also, and privy coun- "sellors with the king at that time, then adjudged "our marriage lawful and honest, and now to say "that it is detestable and abominable, I think a "great marvel; and in especial when I consider "how wise a prince the king's father was, and "also the love and natural affection that king "Ferdinand my father bare unto me. I think of "myself that neither of our fathers were so unwise, "so uncircumspect, and of so small imagination, "but they foresaw what might follow of our mar- "riage, and in especial the king my father sent "to the court of Rome; and, there, after long suit, "with great cost and charge, obtained a licence "and dispensation, that I, being the one brother's "wife, and peradventure carnally known, might "without scruple of conscience marry with the "other brother lawfully, which licence under lead* "I have to shew, which things make me see and "truly believe our marriage was both lawful, good, "and godly. But of this trouble I only may thank "you, my Lord Cardinal of York, for because I

* The bulls were usually sealed with lead.

" have wondered at your high pride and vain-
" glory, and abhor your voluptuous life, and little
" regard your presumptuous power and tyranny,
" therefore, if in malice you have kindled this fire,
" and set this matter abroach, and in especial for
" the malice which you bear my nephew the
" emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse
" than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy
" your ambition, and make you pope by force,
" and, therefore, you have said more than once
" you would trouble him and his friends, and you
" have kept him true promise, for of all his wars
" and vexations he only may thank you ; and as
" for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what
" trouble you put me to, by this new found
" truth, God knoweth, to whom I commit my
" cause according to the truth."*

To this reproachful harangue, Wolsey in vain proffered excuses, and a determination to give an impartial judgment in the queen's cause. She deigned not even a semblance of belief; and the legates departed, convinced that with so determined a spirit no persuasions to a monastic life would avail. While the subject was thus agitated, the deportment of Henry towards his queen was such as to maintain the appearance of that regard and respect which he professed to feel towards her; but Katharine, reproached,

* *Hall*, p. 755. Also *Cottonian MSS.* Vitell. B. 12—50.

as she had recently been, with promoting cheerful amusements when the king was sorrowful, refused to join in the festivities of Christmas, which Henry this year kept with unusual rejoicings, in order to divert his thoughts from the approaching event, on which so much of his happiness depended. Meanwhile the country resounded with rumours and disquisitions concerning the approaching trial; and daily cogitations touching the manner of proceeding to be adopted in the case were carried on at Lambeth, where learned men from both the universities were assembled to discuss the subject. The queen chose for her counsel the Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas West, Bishop of Ely, Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph; to these learned doctors she gave authority to plead her cause in the way they might judge most expedient. During the process it was adjudged convenient that the king and queen should both take up their abode in the palace of Bridewell, on account of its vicinity to the legates' court, which was seated in the great hall of Blackfriars.

On the twenty-eighth day of May*, the king and queen were cited by Dr. Sampson to appear either in person or by proxies. On the day appointed, the two legates en-

* According to *Hall*; *Burnet* assigns the 18th as the day.

tered the court in state, and seated themselves as judges, on chairs covered with cloth of gold. On the right and on the left hand were rich canopies and seats for the king and queen. The Cardinal of York, as Hall takes care to specify, took the right hand of the court; the scribes, who were doctors in divinity, sat below the judges; while the counsel for the king and queen were ranged at each end within the court. Those on the side of the king were Dr. Sampson, afterwards Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Bell, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Peter, afterwards chief secretary to the king, Dr. Tregonvell, and others.*

On the first sitting of the court the king appeared by proxies: but the queen, on being summoned, entered the court, attended by a train of bishops, and of gentlewomen, and coming with a mournful demeanour before the legates, after making her obeisance, appealed from them, as incompetent judges of her cause, to the court of Rome, and left the hall. Not-

* See *Cavendish*, *Hall*.

In the account of this famous trial, I have followed Cavendish and Hall. Burnet denies that the king ever appeared in court, in which he is corroborated by Fox's Acts, p. 958. Hall, whom Burnet acknowledges to be very exact in trifles, mentions the king's appearance and speech in court: Collier and Fiddes follow Cavendish. Strype and Lord Herbert do not give a detailed account of the trial.

withstanding this procedure, the court sat weekly, and on the eighteenth of June the king and queen were again cited, when they both answered the summons in person. Anne Bullen was among the other spectators in the court; and surveyed, no doubt with feelings that could not easily be described, the strange game which was to be played and decided before her elevation might be completed.* Katharine, on this occasion, sustained her part with all the spirit and dignity which her previous conduct had led the public mind to expect; and with virtuous indignation manifested her last ineffectual resistance against the power of those who were appointed to hear and to decide her cause.

After silence had been proclaimed, and the commission of the judges read, the crier summoned into court "Henry, King of England," who answering "Here," the crier then called "Katharine, Queen of England, come into the court:" to this the queen made no reply, but rising immediately from her chair, passed round the court, and coming before the king, prostrated herself at his feet†; and in this attitude, which

* See *Hall*, p. 759.

† The Cottonian MSS. give no account of her falling on her knees, but say she stood for some time silent, and then began—"Alas! my lords, and is it now a question with you whether I be the king's wife or no, when I have been married to him almost 20 yeares, and in this fashion never question was made before?" Vitel. B. 12. 50.

was witnessed by all those present, poured forth the following petition, which her broken English rendered the more affecting. "I beseech you, "sir, to do me justice and right, and to take some "pity upon me, for I am a poor woman and a "stranger, born out of your dominion, having here "no indifferent counsel, and less assurance of "friendship. Alas! sir, what have I offended "you, or what occasion of displeasure have I "shewed you, intending thus to put me from you "after this sort? I take God to my judge, I "have ever been to you a true and humble wife, "ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that "never constrained or gainsayed any thing there-"of, and being always contented with all things "wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whe-"ther it were little or much, without grudge or "countenance of discontent, or displeasure. I "loved for your sake all men whom ye loved, "whether I had cause or no, or whether they "were my friends or enemies. I have been your "wife these twenty years or more, and ye have "had divers children by me.

"And, when ye had me at the first, I take God "to be my judge that I was a very maid; and "whether it be true or no, I put it to your con-"science. If there be any just cause that ye can "allege against me, either of dishonesty or other "matter lawful to put me from you, I am content

" to depart to my shame and rebuke; and, if there
" be none, then I pray you let me have justice at
" your hands. The king your father was in his
" time of such an excellent wit, that he was ac-
" counted among men, for his wisdom, to be a
" second Solomon; and the King of Spain, my
" father Ferdinand, was reckoned to be one of
" the wisest princes that reigned in Spain, many
" years before his days; and they were both wise
" men and noble kings. It is not therefore to be
" doubted, but that they gathered together as wise
" counsellors into them of every realm as to their
" wisdoms they thought mete. And, as me seem-
" eth, there were in those days as wise and learned
" men in both realms as be now at this day, who
" thought the marriage between you and me good
" and lawful. Therefore it is a wonder to hear
" what new inventions are now invented against
" me, that never intended but honesty. And
" now to cause me to stand to the order and judg-
" ment of this courte, it should, as seemeth me,
" do me much wrong; for ye may condemn me
" for lack of answer, having no counsel but such
" as ye have assigned me. Ye must consider, that
" they cannot be indifferent on my part, when
" they be your own subjects; and such as ye have
" taken and chosen out of your own counsel,
" whereunto they are privy, and dare not disclose
" your will and intent. Therefore I humbly de-

" sire you, in the way of charity to spare me, until " I may know what counsel and advise my friends " in Spain will advise me to take. And if you " will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled." And having thus spoken, the queen arose, and making a low courtesey to the king, returned not to her place, but left the court, leaning upon the arm of one Griffith, her receiver general. The king, perceiving her departure, commanded the crier to recal her again to court; and Griffith, informing her that she was summoned, " On," she replied, " it maketh no matter, it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry." Nor could she be prevailed upon to return, nor ever to appear again before the legates.

The king, on finding that she had resolved not to continue, addressed the audience, " declaring that the queen had been to him as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife as he could wish or desire." " She hath," continued Henry, melted perhaps to some portion of his former tenderness by the pitiable situation of one who little merited to be thus degraded, " all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of a baser estate. She is surely a noble woman borne; her conditions will well declare the same." The king, moreover, on the question being put to him by Wolsey, whether his wishes concerning the

divorce were suggested to him by that prelate, declared solemnly that his first doubts of the legality of his marriage had been suggested by the demurs of the Bishop of Tarbe, concerning the legitimacy of the Princess Mary; that these doubts, once suggested, were nurtured by despair of issue from the queen, and not by any "disinclination to the queen's person or age, with whom," continued the king, whose religious scruples did not always prevent him from deeming a falsity expedient, "I could be as well contented as with any woman alive."* "To you my lord of Lincoln," said Henry, in conclusion, "did I first move this matter after I perceived my conscience so doubtful; and, forasmuch as you were yourself in some doubt, you moved me to ask counsel of all you my lords; whereupon I first moved it to you, my lord of Canterbury, first to have your licence, insomuch as you were metropolitan, to put this matter in question."† Upon this, a dispute arose between the primate and the Bishop of Rochester, Warham affirming that all the bishops had admitted the legality of the process, and Fisher denying that he had

* Bishop Longland is said to have told his chaplain, Dr. Draycot, that the king first mentioned the matter to him, not he to the king, who never ceased urging him upon the subject. Longland afterwards repented of the encouragement he had given to the matter.

† *Hall*, p. 755.

subscribed his name to the document by which the bishops assented to the trial. Upon which, the king producing the hand and seal of Dr. Fisher, affixed to the instrument, the signature was resolutely stated by that prelate to be a forgery. The primate, who had in vain endeavoured to persuade the Bishop of Rochester to sign his approval of the measure, declared that the bishop had permitted him to write a signature for him; a point, vehemently contradicted by Fisher, and which still remains undecided, as the king, weary of the controversy, broke up the court, which was adjourned.*

On the twenty-fifth day of the same month, the queen was cited into court, under pain of contumacy; but she refused again to appear before the legates: upon which she was declared contumacious. An appeal to the pope, signed in every page by her own hand, was, however, read, in which she objected both to the places, to the judges, and to her counsel, in whom, as holding preferments under the king, she declared that she could not confide. The legates, after the reading of this appeal, proceeded to examine witnesses, concerning the particulars of the marriage between the Prince Arthur and the queen; and to inquire into circumstances,

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 133.

which, after the lapse of twenty-seven years, it was no easy matter to investigate: the evidence, however, appeared satisfactory to the public, generally; and it was no little confirmation of what the king's advocates wished to advance, that the title of Prince of Wales had been during six months after the death of Prince Arthur, withheld from Henry, then Duke of York, in expectation that the queen might produce a successor to the throne. The advocates of the queen asserted, on the other hand, that this point made no material difference in the question; since the interdiction against marrying a brother's wife was a Mosaical regulation, and, therefore, only binding on the Jews: it was true, they admitted that the Christian church was governed by this restraint; but since ecclesiastical authority supported it, the same power could dispense with the obligation.*

Katharine was now more determined than ever to avocate the cause to Rome. She wrote to her nephew, protesting that she would suffer death itself, rather than depart from her marriage: that, expecting no justice from the legates, she looked to them for assistance, since, if the pope could be persuaded to admit her appeal, the cause would be taken into his hands. For some time this measure, on the part of Katharine,

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 134.

seemed to promise her redress: Campeggio, who anxiously desired to escape the wrath of the emperor, recommended an avocation of the cause to Rome, which might, at the same time, excuse him to the king from giving a decision, and give him the reputation, which he little deserved, of acting from conscientious motives.

Between the threatenings of the Spanish, and the entreaties of the English ambassadors, Clement the Seventh had, for some time, little peace: but the pope had his own reasons for leaning to the side of the emperor, whose promises and menaces were powerfully seconded by political advantages: the avocation was therefore granted. Before it was signed, however, Campeggio had been instructed to draw the process to as great a length as possible, so as to adjourn the court from day to day, deceiving the king with an expectation of judgment, which was never to be given. On the 25th of June, the court was adjourned to the 28th, and nothing was done, except declaring the queen contumacious, and taking the depositions of witnesses. On the 5th of July the counsel of the king argued both against the validity of the bull, which granted the dispensation for the king's marriage, and against the authenticity of the breve, which had been produced to confirm it. At these proceedings, as impugning the authority

of the pope, Campeggio was much offended, and the court was again adjourned. Campeggio endeavoured to persuade the king that it was not for his honour to hurry the process; and it was therefore delayed from day to day, upon various pretexts; and among others, upon a plea that the consistory at Rome, of which the legate's court was a scion, never transacted business between July and October; and that a similar observance was requisite, in all the courts which depended on the will of the pontiff.*

The king's temper, never the most tranquil, was in a complete ferment during these delays, and his passion for Anne Bullen inflamed his habitual impatience of opposition: never was any prince less calculated to brook obstacles, or to bear disappointments. He looked again to concessions from the queen, as the only means of escaping from this embarrassing situation without greater perplexity, and sent for Wolsey to confer with him at Bridewell, on the best plan for persuading Katharine to accede to the divorce. Wolsey, after remaining an hour in private with the king, came out much perturbed, and taking his barge at Blackfriars, went to his house at Whitehall. The Bishop of Carlisle, who was with him in the boat, remarked that the day was warm: "Yes, my lord," replied the

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 139.

cardinal, "if ye had been as much chafed as I have been, you would say it was very hot." On reaching home, the cardinal sought repose from his vexations, and went to bed, where, however, he had not been two hours before the Earl of Wiltshire, father of Anne Bullen, came to him, and desired him, in the name of the king, to repair to the queen's apartments at Bridewell, in company with Campeggio, in order to use their united persuasions with Katharine to induce her to give up her suit into the king's hands; a measure which would redound much more to her credit than the sentence which she was certain to receive from the court, condemning her cause. Wolsey, who saw little hope of prevailing with the resolute spirit of Katharine, and who perceived, in the projected union between Henry and Anne Bullen, the seeds of danger to his own power, declared that he was ready to obey the order of his sovereign; "but," added he, to the earl, "you and other lords of the counsel are not a little misadvised to put any such fantasy into the king's head, whereby ye do trouble all the realm; and at length ye shall get small thanks for your labours, both of God and the world." This reproof, which astounded Lord Wiltshire, seems to have been wrung from Wolsey by the perplexities and harassing circumstances of his situation: little, perhaps, did he

enjoy that greatness which was the cause of so much envy and malignity in others!*

In compliance with the commands of the king, the two cardinals made another ineffectual visit to the queen: when she was informed that they awaited her, in her presence chamber, she rose from her favourite occupation of needle-work, and running into the apartment where they stood, with a skein of silk about her neck, exclaimed—"Alack! my lords, sorry am I to make you attend on me; what is your pleasure with me?" "If it please your grace," replied Wolsey, "to go into your privy chamber, we will shew to you the cause of our coming." "My lord," answered the queen, "if you have any thing to say, speak it openly before all these folkes; for I fear nothing that you can say or allege against me, but that I would all the world should hear and see it: and therefore speak your minds openly, I pray it." Then began Wolsey to address her in Latin: "Nay, good my lord," interrupted Katharine, "speak to me in English, for I can, I thank God, speak and understand English, although I do understand some Latin." Then Wolsey prepared to unfold the reasons of their visit: "My lord," returned the queen, "I thank you for your good will, but cannot return an answer to your requests so

* *Singer's Cavendish*, vol. i. p. 161.

suddenly; for I was set among my maids at work, little thinking of any such matter, wherein there needeth a long deliberation and a better head than mine to make answer; for I need counsel in a case which touches me so nearly; but as for any counsel or friendship that I can find in England, they are not for my profit. Alas! my lords," continued this friendless queen, "I am a poor woman, lacking wit to answer to such noble persons of wisdom as ye be, in so weighty a matter! therefore, I pray you, be good unto me, a poor woman destitute and barren of friendship in a foreign country, and your counsel also I will be glad to hear." Upon this, says Cavendish, who attended Wolsey on this occasion, the queen withdrew to her private apartment with the legates, who remained there some time in earnest conversation: after this was terminated, they repaired to the king, and informed him of the result of their mission, which appears to have been as unsuccessful as their former conference with the queen, for the legates continued to sit weekly, until adjourned by Campeggio.*

The discussions which ensued upon the questions, naturally excited by the events of
1529. this and the succeeding year, induced a freedom of inquiry upon theological

* *Singer's Cavendish*, vol. i. p. 164.

subjects which the avowed inclinations of the king licensed and even encouraged. During one of the sessions of the legatine court, Campeggio being pressed to give judgment by the king's counsel, who confidently expected a decision that day, expressed himself resolved not to determine the matter until he had referred it to the pontiff. "I am an old man," said he, "looking daily for death, what should it avail me to put my soul in danger of God's displeasure, to my utter damnation, for the favour of any prince or high estate in this world?" The adjournment of the court quickly followed this speech. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the bosom friend and favourite companion of Henry, by whose wishes he was instigated on the present occasion, now rose from his seat, and with a countenance full of wrath, declared, "that in his opinion it was never merry in England while we had any cardinals among us." This abrupt attack upon the spirituality, which appeared more as if the gallant Brandon were about to commence a military assault than an harangue in an ecclesiastical court, was received in silence by the whole audience. After a pause, the duke again addressed the court with great vehemence. Wolsey, surprized at his indecorous abuse, then replied to him with great moderation, and reminding Brandon that he had once been the

means of saving his life, exhorted him to "pacify himself, and to speak like a man of honour and wisdom;" alluding at the same time to secret obligations which he had conferred on the duke, and which ought to have ensured his respect and gratitude. Brandon, completely silenced by these allusions, and by this wise and dignified reproof, immediately left the hall and followed the king, who had retired into the palace of Bridewell before the commencement of the dispute. The subject which so effectually subdued the tempest of his wrath, was supposed partly to refer to the good offices which Wolsey had undoubtedly rendered in promoting the marriage of Brandon with the Princess Mary, who, in a letter still extant, expresses her own obligations to the cardinal on that account The circumstance of the duke's life having been saved by Wolsey, is supposed to have related to the mediation of the cardinal during a temporary displeasure of the king towards Brandon, on account of some misconduct in France. The ingratitude of Brandon has been justly blamed by historians.*

Queen Katharine was now removed by order of the king from the palace of Bridewell; and Henry, to wile away those hours which were rendered tedious by the law's delays, began his progress, in which he was, for the first time,

* *Cavendish, Edit. by Singer*, vol. i. p. 170.

accompanied by Anne Bullen.* It appears, however, that the queen went also in the company of her consort; and, even at this period, or very little before it, she had the resolution and policy to conceal her secret emotions of jealousy and resentment, and succeeded so well in the endeavour, that few persons, as the Bishop of Bayonne in his letters affirmed, could have observed any apparent diminution of cordiality between her and the king.†

The king and queen set out from the royal residence of the More, in Hertfordshire, and took their course towards Grafton, in Northamptonshire, where Campeggio, who earnestly desired permission to return to Rome, designed with Wolsey to seek a conference with the king. Of this interview, the last which Wolsey ever held with Henry, Cavendish has given a description which fully exposes those mortifications to view, which afterwards so completely bowed the proud spirit of that prelate to the dust. On arriving at the gate, the two legates alighted, but were received not by the head officers of the household, but by persons of inferior consideration, who, on conducting the strangers into the court, told Campeggio that there was an apartment prepared for him, but hesitated whether to admit

* *Cavendish*, p. 171.

† *Burnet, from Le Grand*, vol. iii. p. 73.

Wolsey, as no orders had been issued for his accommodation. In this dilemma the unfortunate minister was saved from a direct repulse by the urbanity of Sir Henry Norris, who, coming forward, entreated the cardinal to make use of his apartment for that night; but it is uncertain whether this politeness proceeded from the orders of the king, or from the benevolent disposition of Norris. Meanwhile many wagers were laid by those of the royal household concerning the reception of Wolsey, and he received intimations from some of his friends who were about the king, that he had fallen under the displeasure of his sovereign, on account of the slow and unsatisfactory progress of the king's suit, and the recent failure of his persuasions with the queen. Wolsey well knew, that these sources of anger were aggravated by the aversion of Anne Bullen towards him, and by the jealousy of many of the courtiers; and he rejoiced that he was, at any rate, warned of the actual state of affairs, and prepared to mollify the resentment of the monarch. To the surprize of all present, however, Henry received the cardinal with his usual courtesy, and held long and close conferences with him; wishing, probably, to dissimulate for a season, until he should have more entirely resolved on his conduct towards his former favourite. Campeggio was even

received with still greater courtesy than Wolsey, the politeness of the king not allowing him to treat with coldness a man who had come hither at his request. The legate was now allowed to depart, as his presence was entirely useless, the pope having recently sent an inhibition to stop the proceedings of the legates, although he had endeavoured at the same time to soothe the displeasure of Henry by a brief, exempting the king from those penalties which the inhibition imposed upon all such as should abet the process of the divorce.*

Wolsey probably deemed it an essential point of etiquette to accompany his colleague as far as Towcester, but there he took leave of Campeggio, and returned on the following day to Grafton, where the king remained, and again demanded an interview with Henry; but this request was refused; and the king, being then in the chace, merely informed the cardinal by means of a verbal message from Henry Norris, that it was his pleasure that Wolsey should return to London with Campeggio. This abrupt dismissal from court, informed Wolsey, too well, of all that he had to expect, although it was softened by an assurance, that when the king returned to London, he would communicate on matters of importance with the car-

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* p. 37. part ii. book 1.

dinal; he returned however to Campeggio at Towcester, and they proceeded together to London, where Campeggio was presented with a sum of money from the royal coffers, and set out upon his journey. Wolsey never again beheld the countenance of that monarch whom he had served diligently, and in some respects faithfully.*

A report being current that Campeggio was the bearer, not only of the decretal bull, but of treasures belonging to Wolsey, who, it was said, meditated a speedy escape to Rome, Henry dispatched messengers after the legate, who was overtaken at Calais, and was there detained until his coffers had been searched; but no money was found except the present from the king; and of that sum a part had been already dissipated by the necessitous legate.†

Campeggio left England shortly before Michaelmas term, greatly incensed by the ransack of his coffers. Wolsey, at this period, took his accustomed seat in the court of chancery, and when the term began, "he went," says Cavendish, "into the hall in such like sorte and gesture as he accustomed most commonly to doe, and sat in the chancery, being then chancellor; after which day he never sat more." The causes which menaced and which effected his destruction, were now brought into activity,

* *Hall*, p. 759. † *Cavendish.*

and the ruin of the cardinal was as rapid as had been his elevation. When we consider the unparalleled degree of power which Wolsey possessed, and the little moderation with which he exercised it, his greatness appears even at its climax, as a "house built upon the sand," which though reared with ingenuity, and supported with skill, wanted that foundation which integrity and discretion alone can supply. Yet the qualities of this great man as a minister, were not only splendid and effective, but, in some instances, of so admirable and useful a description, that his decline was viewed with regret by the unprejudiced, who deemed that a limitation, and not a total subversion of his power would have been most conducive to the glory of his country. This, however, was not to be expected; the envy which Wolsey had scarcely sought to avoid, was a general sentiment; he never was a popular minister, nor was Henry a prince to deal in moderate measures. Long blinded to all the innovations of Wolsey, and to his defects, when the eyes of the king were opened, he could not behold the spectacle which they viewed with patience.

The causes which led immediately to the ruin of Wolsey, may be referred to the divorce, and to the various circumstances connected with that event. In his conduct during this transaction, one feature however predominates,

that of disinclination to the whole proceeding. The measure was repugnant to his prejudices as a divine, and obnoxious to his interests as a churchman. The queen elect distrusted and disliked him, and Wolsey was aware of her aversion, and of the influence it might produce upon his fortunes. Yet, how can we account for the equal hatred borne by Katharine towards this unfortunate minister? It must be ascribed to the double and vacillating demeanour of Wolsey, who, harassed by apprehensions of displeasure at home, and of enmity abroad, had not the resolution, in this instance, to adopt a determined and open plan of conduct, which, had it ended in his ruin, would at least have diffused a manly dignity over his fall.

It is evident that Wolsey was by no means apprized either of the extent or of the proximity of his peril, until it broke upon him in full force. Many circumstances had tended to deceive him. Anne Bullen, during the first days of her favour with the king, had thought it expedient to dissemble her resentment against his favourite; or had not, perhaps, imbibed her strong prepossessions in his prejudice, until she suspected him of collusion with the pope, in the business of the divorce: three of her letters, which are considered authentic, convey any impressions but those of enmity towards Wolsey. The king, during

his interview with Wolsey at Grafton, had behaved towards the Cardinal in so affable and affectionate a manner, as completely to disconcert the expectations of those secret enemies who impatiently awaited the downfall of the minister. Thus blinded as to the intentions of the king, the Duke of Suffolk, Sir Thomas Bullen, Sir Brian Tuke, Gardiner, and other favourites and associates of Henry, maintained an appearance of deference for Wolsey, which led him to suppose that they perceived no change in the opinion of their sovereign with respect to himself; Wolsey "concluding," as Burnet observes, "that from the motions of such weathercocks the air of the prince's affections was best gathered." *

Wolsey had scarcely resigned his office of legate, from which he had derived an almost princely power, than an indictment upon a charge of having fallen under the penalties of the statute of præmunire was entered against

* Campian relates that Sir Francis Brian, being at Rome, obtained, from the mistress of one of the pope's minions, a letter of Wolsey's, which he brought with him to England, and which proved Wolsey's real intentions respecting the divorce to be unfavourable to it. This anecdote Lord Herbert confutes by the remark that Sir Francis Brian had arrived from Rome before any appearance of displeasure towards Wolsey had been manifested by the king. See *Fiddes' Life of Wolsey*, p. 495.

him, at Michaelmas term. Notwithstanding this, he appeared, as we have seen, at the court of chancery, with all his accustomed parade; but Henry, being informed of his conduct, now deemed it necessary to forbid him the place, assigning as a reason, the unfitness of a man, under an accusation, to fulfil the office of a judge. On the day after the beginning of term, Wolsey remained, therefore, at home, expecting the commands of the king, but he received them not until the ensuing day, when the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk waited upon him, by royal command, to declare that he was desired by the king to deliver the great seal into their hands, and to retire to Esher, a house belonging to the bishopric of Winchester, to which he had been translated in 1521. The Cardinal demanded their commission, with which they were unprovided, having no other authority than a verbal message from the king; upon this reply, he refused to surrender the seal, alleging that it was given to him by letters patent of the king, for the term of his life; and although urged by many "great and heinous words" from the two noblemen, yet, he continued with temper and respect, to refuse compliance with their request. They were compelled, therefore, to return to Windsor, where they left the king, for further authority, which, on the following day,

they produced to Wolsey: he then resigned the seals, and consented to leave Yorke Place, where he had received the commissioners. From that palace the Cardinal took nothing but provision for his new abode, where, as he said, he expected a visit from the king in the course of a few days.

After the departure of the dukes, with whom he had a long conference, Wolsey summoned the officers of his household, and proceeded to make inventories of all that his noble palace contained. He caused several tables to be placed in his gallery, and these were covered with pieces of rich velvet, damask, grograine, tufted taffeta, satin, and holland, in such immense quantities, that when the cardinal afterwards made a complaint that some robbery had been committed among them, he asserted that five hundred pieces of Holland cloth had been conveyed away. He ordered the most sumptuous preparations to be made for the arrival and inspection of the king: the walls of the galleries were hung with cloth of gold and of silver, and with rich copes, which he had, at his own expence, provided for his colleges at Oxford and at Ipswich. His plate was arranged upon two long and broad tables on tressles, in his counsel and gilt chambers; and being not only costly but in great profusion, it astonished the eyes of all beholders,

accustomed, until the reign of Henry the Eighth, to see pewter used daily, even at the table of the monarch.

Before his departure the Cardinal sent for Sir William Gascoigne, his treasurer, to whom he gave in charge the delivery of all his goods to the king; on Sir William informing him, that he believed "his grace would go straightway to the Tower," Wolsey rebuked him for adding to his distresses, and for being "light of credit;" and declared his consciousness of innocence.

When the preparations for the journey were completed, and the train of yeomen and of gentlemen arrayed, the Cardinal entered his barge at his private stair, and was rowed over to Putney, where his horses awaited him. His embarkation was eagerly watched by crowds both in boats and on land; but when they perceived that he was not, as they expected, conveyed to the Tower, their disappointment was visible. On arriving at Putney, the Cardinal took his mule, and his train their horses, and riding down the hill through the town of Putney, perceived Sir Henry Norris approaching towards the cavalcade. This kind-hearted knight, saluting Wolsey, brought him a message of comfort, and bidding him bear his present trial with patience, foretold that he should be again restored to as much favour as he had ever enjoyed. The delight which Wolsey

expressed on hearing this assurance, exceeded all bounds; he alighted from his mule, as if he had been the youngest person present, and kneeling on the road raised his hands with an acclamation of joy; Norris, alighting also, embraced the humbled cardinal, and begged him to believe his words of comfort. "Mr. Norris," said Wolsey, "when I consider the joyful words that ye have brought, I could do no less than rejoice greatly. I thought it my duty, in the same place where I received this comfort, to laud and praise God on my knees, and humbly to render to my sovereign lord, my hearty thanks for the same." Nor did the Cardinal consider this testimonial of gratitude sufficient, without pulling from his head the velvet cap which he usually wore under his black hat, and after kneeling bareheaded, he again mounted with difficulty upon his mule. Norris now joining the party, they continued to ride across Putney Heath, where Sir Henry, on parting, presented Wolsey with a ring, sent to him by the king, as a private token between them, for which the Cardinal requited Norris with a piece of the holy cross, a relic worn constantly by himself, suspended by a chain around his neck, which he declared he would not, in the days of his prosperity, have parted with for a thousand pounds. To the king he sent a gift, which was then esteemed of no small value,

that of a favourite fool. Henry had often commended the jests of the personage with whom Wolsey now thought fit to present him, and it is conjectured that this individual transmitted from the cardinal to the king was no less a person than the celebrated Patch, otherwise Master Williams, whose witticism upon the title of defender of the faith is so well known.* This important character, with his customary appendages of bells and baubles, and probably, since the household was removing, with his domestic companion the monkey, was now commanded to accompany Norris in his return to court: but the menial, whom Wolsey averred to be worth a thousand pounds for any nobleman's pleasure, resisted with indignation the attempt to transfer him to another master, and evinced so much gratitude and attachment to his old patron, that it was found necessary to send six tall yeomen to convey him to court, so reluctantly did he depart.

After bidding Norris farewell, Wolsey and his train proceeded to Esher, where they remained for nearly four weeks, in great necessity, having neither requisite household furniture, nor money to purchase the means of a comfortable subsist-

* When Henry received the title of defender of the faith, Patch observed to him, "Prythee, good Hal, let you and I defend one another, and let the faith defend itself."

ence. Meanwhile the Cardinal's rich palace of York House, of which he had himself erected a considerable portion, was seized by the king, who persuaded Wolsey to resign it to him; for if it had been merely forfeited to the crown under the statute of præmunire, it would, on the death of Wolsey, have reverted to the church. Wolsey, after some objections, subsequently conceded this sumptuous palace; alleging that "he trusted in the well-known justice and generosity of his master, to make restitution for it to the see of York, to which it had belonged since the year 1248."

An information had been entered against Wolsey, by Hales, the attorney-general, in the King's Bench, purporting "that notwithstanding the statute of Richard the Second against the procuring bulls from Rome, he had procured bulls for his legatine power, which he had many years executed: some particulars, for form, were named out of many more." To this indictment the Cardinal pleaded guilty, but professing ignorance of the statute, submitted himself to the king's mercy. Henry had not, it seems, at first, any intention of crushing Wolsey entirely, and probably the abrupt and violent measures against the minister, which he had adopted, were intended as an indirect threat upon the power of Rome, rather than as a prelude to the total ruin of the Cardinal.

On the twenty-first of November, the king granted Wolsey his protection, and
1529. afterwards his pardon; and not only restored to him so great a portion of his plate and goods as amounted in value to £6374 and odd, a considerable sum at that period, but reinstated him in the archbishopric of York, and in the bishopric of Winchester. These acts of mercy were seconded by many kind messages, both from the king and from Anne Bullen.*

* *Burnet.*

CHAP. IV.

Continuance of Wolsey's adversities. — Cranmer, Gardiner, Fox. — Sir Thomas More: inconsistency of Henry in choosing and retaining him as Chancellor. — More's religious zeal. — Proceedings against the exactions of the Clergy opposed by the Bishops: vehemence of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. — A blow aimed at the supremacy. — The Clergy petition. — The Beggars' Petition against popery; answered by Sir Thomas More. — William Tindall: his translation of the New Testament, and the five books of Moses: anecdote of the manner in which his work fell into the hands of Henry the Eighth. — Sir Thomas More replies to Tindall. — Henry persecutes with severity. — Bilney, Young; their recantation. — Bilney's remorse and death. — The King's debts cancelled. — Peace throughout Europe. — Wolsey discharges his servants: fidelity of Cromwell: his parentage, character, and conduct to Wolsey. — The Cardinal impeached in the Star-chamber and condemned: his illness: attentions to him from the King and Anne Bullen: he removes to Richmond: takes up his abode for a time in the Charter-house: is ordered to York: his commendable behaviour in his diocese: his arrest: journey to Leicester: death and character.

IT was not to be expected that any symptoms of a relenting spirit on the part of the king towards the unfortunate Wolsey would prove permanent; nor that other powerful minds would

not be found to supply to the king that support which he had, undoubtedly, derived from the counsels of his late minister; and the decline of Wolsey's fortunes produced a speedy alteration in those of two individuals, who were immediately exalted to the highest place in the favour of Henry. It is singular, that at this period, when every virtuous sentiment and every generous feeling appear to have deserted the character of Henry, his new counsellors should both have been men of the most unblemished character.

An accident introduced Cranmer to royal favour. Born in the village of Arselacton in Nottinghamshire, of a family which deduced its descent from the conquest, the early life of Cranmer is one, among the many instances that occur in the biography of eminent men, which proves of how little importance to the subsequent acquirement of knowledge, is the attainment of premature proficiency. Placed under the tuition of a low and illiterate parish-clerk, Cranmer in the first years of his education learned little, and endured much from his master, whose attention to his improvement was prompted by that mistaken and vulgar prejudice, which inculcates the necessity of harsh measures in the instruction of youth. Although intended for the church, Cranmer was trained by his father in manly exercises and accomplishments, and in

these the young theologian afterwards sought recreation from those studies in which he eventually engaged; relieving his mind, rather burdened than enlightened by the pursuits then enjoined to men of the clerical profession, by the diversions of hunting and hawking, or by the practice of the long-bow and the cross-bow, from which, however, he was in some measure debarred by an imperfect sight.

It was the lot of Cranmer to be chiefly under female influence at his outset in life; a circumstance from which he, probably, derived that gentle and forbearing character which so well becomes the teacher of Christianity. The censorious may perhaps attribute the pusillanimity which, on some occasions, disgraced his conduct, to the same cause. The father of Cranmer died young, but his mother pursued the plan of life to which her son was originally destined, and sending him to Cambridge, expected probably that he would there take orders, and pass his life in learned and philosophic repose. It does not appear at what exact period Cranmer assumed the clerical habit; he was made a fellow in Jesus College, but choosing to marry, he lost that provision; and was appointed to the readership of Buckingham College, where he remained during some time, his wife meanwhile residing with a kinswoman, who kept the Dolphin, an inn in

Cambridge. This arrangement, which was afterwards the cause of many cavils from his enemies when Cranmer was raised to the primacy, was terminated by the death of his wife in childbed; and his re-election to the fellowship of Jesus College was the consequence of that misfortune. He became afterwards a reader, and Doctor in Divinity; and in this office, Cranmer, as one of the examiners of divinity students, rigorously insisted upon a knowledge of the scriptures as an essential point, and even incurred enmity by a rejection of all those who failed in this respect. His reputation for learning gained him, however, the offer of a fellowship in Wolsey's new college at Oxford, which he refused; assigning as a reason for his rejection of the honour, that the glory of man, rather than of God, was sought in that establishment. This circumstance proved afterwards the basis of his fortune.

Having been driven from Cambridge during the summer of 1529, by the sweating sickness, Cranmer took up his abode at Waltham Cross, at the house of a relation, named Cressey, whose two sons had been his pupils at the university. It was a singular, and for Cranmer a fortunate coincidence, that the king should be at
1529. this time, during the month of August, on his return from his progress, disconso-

late at the fruitless conclusion of the legatine commission, angry with Wolsey, weary of Katharine, and ready to listen to any means of obtaining his wishes which might appear to have the slightest feasibility. It was also a curious chance, if any of the events of life deserve that term, that Henry should rest on his way to Greenwich at Waltham, where Cranmer held his temporary residence; and that the two harbingers of his approach, Fox and Gardiner, should be lodged in the very house where Cranmer, then an obscure but erudite divine, had taken refuge from the pestilence.* The men whom accident thus threw in the way of Cranmer, were active and busy courtiers, whose spiritual calling was of a very subordinate importance in their view, to the diplomatic and political services in which they had been frequently engaged, and by which they expected to gain still higher promotion.

Stephen Gardiner, the most celebrated of these agents, was born, says Fuller, "at Bury St. Edmund's, one of the best aires in England, the sharpness whereof he retained in his wit and quick apprehension."† According to Bishop Godwin, Gardiner was the natural son of Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, the brother-in-

* *Fox's Life of Cranmer, Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. iii. p. 437.

† *Fuller's Worthies of Suffolk*, vol. ii. p. 331.

law of Edward the Fourth; and his mother is said to have retrieved her shame by marrying one Gardiner, a person of an humble station, who gave his name to the infant bishop * : but this story is contradicted by Fuller. If, however, the birth of Gardiner were questionable, his abilities were undoubted, and his memory, which was remarkable, rendered him extremely serviceable in all exact matters. At this time he had attained no higher rank than that of Doctor of Laws of Trinity Hall, in Cambridge, and some church preferments; but he had recently been entrusted with an important embassy to Rome, in which he had acquitted himself with great discretion, and had been promoted, on his return, to the office of private secretary to the king. The character of Gardiner will be fully developed by his actions: at this early period of his political career, a desire of pecuniary gain, which increased as age advanced, and an insidious but determined malice against all those who opposed his designs, appear to have formed the principal attributes of his mind. In the course of time, it was found, unhappily by the Protestants, that Gardiner had views of a more extended and important nature than mere personal aggrandizement, and to his influence were many of the later disasters of this

* *Dodd's Church Hist.* p. 69.

reign imputed, by those who were sufferers in the general calamity. After the death of the venerable and pious Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Gardiner was installed in the see of that diocese, and was also honoured
1534. with the chancellorship of the university of Cambridge. His power, as well as his ingenuity, may be allowed, as Bishop Godwin remarks, to have been "too great, except it had been better employed."*

Of a very different disposition, and of opposite religious sentiments was Edward Fox, the coadjutor of Gardiner in preparing for the arrival of Henry at Waltham, and one of the almoners to the king. This divine, who was afterwards bishop of Hereford, was considered as the pillar of the reformation, which he advanced in this country by his prudence and management, qualities which are no less essential than zeal and ability for promoting any important design. The associate of Cranmer in the great work, Fox, possessed talents and activity little inferior to those of his more celebrated friend; but he was not permitted to exercise so long his powers of usefulness, and was spared the subsequent temptations and calamities of the times, by his death, in 1538, before the reign of terror, as

* *Godwin's Cat.* p. 247.

it may justly be considered, had reached its height.*

It was not the first introduction of Cranmer to these eminent divines which took place under the roof of Cressey of Waltham, for they had all been contemporaries at Cambridge, and the fame of Cranmer as a teacher of divinity was equally known to his companions, Gardiner and Fox. They passed the evening therefore in familiar conversation; and, the discourse naturally turning upon the divorce, Cranmer is represented by some to have suggested a reference to the universities†; and from other accounts is stated to have started the first notion of asserting the regal supremacy, as an expedient in the dilemma in which Henry was involved. ‡

Whatever may have been the measure suggested by Cranmer, it appeared to his hearers so judicious a plan in their master's emergency, that, on the following night, at Greenwich, they related the scheme which Cranmer had proposed to the king; Gardiner, with all the meanness of a practised deceiver, endeavouring to assign the credit of the idea to himself; but Fox, with more candour, revealing whence it

* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i. p. 380. *from Godwin.*

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 145.

‡ *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* note, vol. iii. p. 437.

had its source. Henry was delighted with the new counsel; and eagerly inquiring for the counsellor, dispatched messengers to Waltham to bring him, declaring that "the man had the sow by the right ear." Some time, however, elapsed before Cranmer could be found, as he had left Waltham, and travelled into Nottinghamshire; and when he was actually discovered, he could with difficulty be persuaded to enter the presence of the king, having little desire of political distinction, or solicitude for his own elevation at court. Constrained, however, to accept the opportunity forced upon him, Cranmer was presented to the king, and in this conference is said to have recommended that reference to the universities, both domestic and foreign, to which he had alluded at Waltham. But this plan could not have been the suggestion of Cranmer, as is reported by Burnet and Fox; as it had taken place before the introduction of Cranmer at court, which occurred in August, 1529: because, in November, 1528, the king had mentioned, in his speech before the legates at Bridewell, his application to the greatest clerks in Christendom; and the answer of the university of Orleans to his appeal is dated in April, 1529. But, though there is reason to conclude that Wolsey, as is related by Cavendish, and not Cranmer, suggested the expedient of applying to the

universities, yet, the rise of Cranmer may be said to have originated in his interview with Gardiner and Fox at Waltham; nor was it long before Cranmer had ample opportunity of evincing how well he merited, and with what moderation he enjoyed, the favours which fortune, thus unsolicited, began to lavish upon him.

Upon the deprivation of Wolsey, the office of chancellor was proffered to Warham, the primate, who had held the seals in the early part of this reign; but who, now, as it was in all probability expected, declined resuming duties of so arduous a nature, and so incompatible with his years and infirmities. Upon the refusal of Warham, the honours of chancellor were conferred upon Sir Thomas More, upon whom Henry had long cast a favourable regard.

More, of whom his contemporaries found it difficult to decide whether his life or his writings were most admirable, had inherited from his father, one of the judges of the king's bench, that "*pleasant and witty*" character which distinguished his conversation. To his natural talents he added those more solid acquirements, which the instructions of Thomas Linacre at Oxford, and the friendship of Grocyn, were likely to confer upon him. Sir Thomas More was truly a citizen, his birth having taken place in Milk Street,

Cheapside, and his first rudiments of knowledge having been acquired at Saint Anthony's school, the principal grammar school in the capital before the institution by Doctor Colet. It is probable, however, that the mind of More received its strongest impressions from his residence in the archiepiscopal palace of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, at whose expence he was sent to Oxford, but to which of the colleges has not been ascertained, the evidence of this and of similar facts having been wholly lost in the destruction of the archives of Oxford, soon after the accession of Henry.*

From Oxford, More removed first to New Inn, and afterwards to Lincoln's Inn, where he acquired such proficiency in the knowledge of law, that he was appointed reader to Furnival's Inn, a situation which he filled, both with profit and honour, for more than three years. Nor was the attention of More wholly engaged by this office; theology employed his leisure hours, and he read, in the church of Saint Lawrence, Saint Austin's book De Civitate Dei, of which his explanations were esteemed so erudite, that even the profound scholar, Grocyn, delighted in attending his lectures. The accomplishments of More, both personal and intel-

* *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*, vol. i. p. 36.

lectual were various, and his learning was considered profound. Fond of whatever could promote innocent chearfulness, More practised and excelled in music; poetry was his study and delight; he spoke French with fluency; and his prose works in English and in Latin were, afterwards, esteemed worthy to be classed with some of the most elegant productions of the period. Yet, in the height of youth, and in the enjoyment of so many advantages, and possessed of the means of gaining distinction and sublunary greatness, this young zealot, brought up in the strictest notions of the papal church, wore constantly a cilice, or hair shirt, next his skin, and deemed it an essential mortification to sleep upon a board, or with a block under his head*, nor would he allow himself more repose, daily, than for the space of four or five hours.

The early and enthusiastic devotion displayed by More, naturally led to a conjecture that he might deviate from the plan laid down for him by his father, and enter that church of which he was so pious and zealous a member; and some years of devotional retirement among the monks of the charter-house in London, appeared to confirm this expectation. But this destination was not reserved for More, who, fortunately for mankind, who derived thence the

* See *More's Life, Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* p. 64.

greater benefit from his example, but unhappily for himself, was ushered into a busier scene of action; and, becoming a burgess of the parliament in the reign of Henry the Seventh, was soon called upon to take an active part in political affairs. It was about this period that Henry the Seventh had demanded from parliament a subsidy, to which it was expected that no opposition would have been made. More, who at his first outset manifested that indifference, which ever characterized all his actions, to his own temporal interest, opposed this grant with so much ability, that the bill was thrown out, at the instigation, as observed by one of the members, of this "beardless boy." This occurrence was highly displeasing to Henry the Seventh, who was only restrained by political fears from manifesting his resentment towards the young member. In so serious a light, however, did More consider the indignation of the monarch, that had it not been for the death of Henry, which happened soon afterwards, he would have deemed it expedient to have quitted the kingdom.*

On the accession of Henry the Eighth, the fortunes of More, then twenty-eight years of age, appeared to be rapidly improving. The associate and the warm admirer of Colet, the esteemed friend of Grocyn, and the pupil of Linacre, it was

* *Life of More, Wordsworth*, p. 67.

impossible that the merits of More could long remain unknown to a king who collected around him the most gifted and eminent persons of his kingdom. At this time More was just married, and had been also recently called to the bar, and constituted under-sheriff of London, an office seldom assigned to one so young. The partner whom this extraordinary man had selected, was chosen upon a principle of self-denial and generosity scarcely sufficiently consonant with our natures to be deemed commendable; for, "when he fell to marrying," as his biographer expresses it, "he tooke to wife the daughter of one Mr. Colt, a gentleman of Essex, who had three daughters, very virtuous and well-liking. And albeit his mind served him most to settle his affection on the second sister, for that he conceived her fairest and best favoured, yet, when he considered it would be a grief to the eldest to see her younger sister preferred before her, he then, of a certaine pitie, framed his fancie to the eldest."*

As a lawyer, the conduct of More was truly admirable, and however it may have been censured by the man of the world, as inexpedient and unprofitable, by the christian moralist it must be regarded with reverence. When he was requested to plead a cause, his first endeavour

* *Life of More, Wordsworth*, p. 67.

was to give such advice as might prove to his client that he sought not his own advantage in the matter; he, then, tried to compose the differences between the parties, and, if that experiment failed, he shewed them in what mode they could carry on the process with the least expence: but he never engaged himself as advocate in any cause, to the justice of which he did not entirely subscribe; "and if he found it to halt in that," says the writer of his life, "he told his client that he would not meddle in that matter for all the good in the world."

It was his own modesty, and the jealousy of Wolsey, that for some time obstructed the advancement of the conscientious and distinguished Sir Thomas More. At last, after several foreign embassies to which he was deputed by the king, and by his fellow citizens the merchants of the Stilliard, More was received into the service of Henry, who then gave him this notable advice, "that in all his doings and affairs, he should first respect God, then the king his master;" instructions with which More, according to the notions which he had received from education, entirely obeyed. He was then made master of requests, was knighted in a month afterwards, and appointed one of the privy council. He was soon promoted to be under treasurer of the exchequer; then chancellor of the duchy

of Lancaster, and afterwards chancellor, being the first layman during this reign that filled that important and eminent office.*

25 Oct. 1529.

At this critical period were Cranmer and More brought on the stage to act their parts in political turmoils; and it would scarcely have been possible for their career to have been free from danger and temptation. Differing in their religious tenets, unequal in abilities, in which More had the ascendancy, they resembled each other only in the uprightness of principle and the purity of intention, with which they reluctantly entered upon the duties of their arduous stations. If some indulgence be required for the vacillation and timidity of Cranmer, charity has also much to forgive in the pious but intolerant More, for persecutions which can never be justified. To the vices of the times may the errors of both be imputed; those of Cranmer were the effect of a tyranny which seemed to infect with pusillanimity almost all who remained long under its influence. The defects of More were occasioned by the bigotry and superstition which still lingered, long after the progress of the reformation, even among many of the wise and good, who were excited to acts of cruelty and injustice, as much by the unsettled and perplex-

* *Wood*, vol. ii. p. 36.

ing condition of affairs, as by the virulence of their tempers, or the corruption of their doctrines. The measures which the new chancellor was called upon to countenance, were soon found to be of a decided and important character.

Thomas Audley, Speaker.

The king's first measures, after a change of ministers, was to summon a parliament, the first which had met during seven years. Among other business, several bills were brought in for relief against the abuses of the clergy; amongst which exactions for the probates of wills were stated as matters of complaint; pluralities, benefices, non-residences, and the injuries done to the working classes by churchmen holding farms, granges, and tan-houses, were specified, and redress was required. On the reading of the bills, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops expressed great displeasure at their contents; and the Bishop of Rochester, with vehemence and passion, exclaimed, "You see, my lords, what bills come daily from the commons, all for the destruction of the church; you see what distractions have annihilated the glory of the kingdom of Bohemia*; and now, the cry of the commons is down with the church. My lords," concluded the angry prelate, "all this is the result of want of faith." This harangue

* In this remark, the bishop alluded to disturbances which had recently taken place in Bohemia.

was considered by the lower house to be so opprobrious, that they dispatched Thomas Audley their speaker, with an address to the king, representing the injustice of the reproach which had been cast upon them; and Henry was constrained to reply that he would remonstrate with the bishop: accordingly, that violent but sincere and worthy dignitary was constrained to make an apology, by asserting that it was the Bohemians, and not the commons, to whom he imputed a lack of faith.* This excuse was by no means satisfactory to the commons, and, as intemperance has generally the effect of impelling onwards what it opposes, the parliament proceeded to lay open the abuses of the clergy, and to bring in bills, which, although strenuously opposed by the spiritual lords, had the countenance of the temporal lords, and the favour of the king.

So bold was the spirit of reformation which now prevailed, that in the act against pluralities, a blow was given to the supremacy of the pope. This attack alarmed the bishops not a little, and produced a petition from the clergy of the province of Canterbury, who thought their immunities endangered by several clauses in the act, by which penalties were imposed upon all such persons as should procure dispensations

* *Hall.*

from the see of Rome, to enable them to hold more benefices than were allowed by the act. Enactions nearly similar were, also, made against those who should obtain dispensations for non-residence at their respective benefices, contrary to the regulations of the act. By another clause, the farming of vicarages and parsonages was forbidden, under pain of a fine of forty shillings and of forfeiting ten times the profit of such a farm: and all spiritual persons were prohibited from taking stipends to sing masses for any soul in purgatory.

These alarming innovations were seconded by the press: the Beggars' Petition against popery, to which Sir Thomas More, about this time, considered it necessary to write an answer, sets forth in glaring colours the abuses and iniquitous conduct of the clergy. This supplication, which has been already mentioned, is addressed to the king, and represents that the beggars are so much increased in number, that they are almost reduced to starvation, an evil which they attribute to the immense portion of wealth engrossed by the clergy. The petitioners declaim with great vehemence against the vows of chastity, which induce the religious orders to attach themselves to other men's wives; against the foundation of hospitals for the poor, who would, they assert, be more easily and effectually relieved by taxing

the clergy, and stripping them of their estates: and to facilitate this expedient, the king is told that the clergy ought to support themselves by the sweat of their brow. In fine, the petition threatens even the government, and boldly affirms, that if the commonalty had not liberty to declaim against these corruptions of the church, the state would be in danger.

The author of this bold, but useful composition, Simon Fish, a native of Kent, had appeared before the public some years previous to the publication of this work, as an actor in that play written by John Roo, which has been before mentioned, as having given offence to Cardinal Wolsey. Fish was, at that time, a student in Gray's Inn, where the satirical drama was performed; and being a man of an intrepid character, the refusal of others to take their part in the performance, did not deter him from that act of indiscretion, for which he was afterwards obliged to leave the kingdom; and, meeting in Germany with William Tindall, an active and learned reformer, Fish was encouraged to exertions of a more important nature, and under the auspices of Tindall he is supposed to have written the supplication of beggars, which has been designated by Fox as a "master-piece of wit, learning and religion." This production, which was completed in 1527, was afterwards present-

ed to Anne Bullen, who at the instigation of her brother, shewed it to the king. Henry was so much pleased with it, that he sent for the author home, and on his arrival, embraced him, kept him a long time in conversation, and manifested great favour towards him. This circumstance, had not, however, occurred until after the fall of Wolsey, who regarded the tenets of Fish with that indignation natural to a zealous churchman of the period.*

The Beggars' supplication was, of course, regarded with horror by the papistical party; and Sir Thomas More, in replying to it, characterizes the nature of the composition as "flourishing without fruit, subtilty without substance, rhetoric without reason, bold babbling without learning, and wiliness without wit." † It appears, that the safety of Fish was greatly endangered for some time by the wrath of his adversaries; but, he escaped from their snares, and afterwards translated from the Dutch a work of a similar tendency to the former, entitled the "Summ of the Scriptures," which was also well received. This useful and plain-spoken individual died of the plague, in 1551. His widow, who had herself incurred the dis-

* *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses,* vol. i. p. 26. Also *Fuller's Worthies,* vol. ii. p. 292.

† *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 48.

pleasure of the Friars by not suffering them to read the Gospels in her house, unless they would read them in English, and appears, from her second choice, to have remained constant to the cause which her first husband had embraced, married afterwards the celebrated James Bainham, who eventually suffered for his religious opinions.*

The operations of the Reformation had been, during some years, seconded by William Tindall, the boldness of whose arguments, and the originality of whose opinions, had not only been regarded by the Romanists as dangerous and heretical beyond those of many of his coadjutors, but had disturbed the minds of many inquiring and conscientious, yet vacillating Christians. This person, who was a native of Wales, had studied, according to the frequent practice of the times, at both the English universities, and had, long since, contributed his aid in sowing the seeds of reformation in those seminaries of learning, by private and free discussions upon the Holy Scriptures among his associates. To the same end, was his familiar conversation directed, when he afterwards entered in the capacity of tutor into the family of a Gloucestershire knight, at whose table he held unguarded controversies with those divines whom

* *Wood*, p. 26.

he might chance to encounter. Finding, however, that this line of conduct rendered him liable to molestation from the provincial clergy, and to insults from the inferior orders of priests, Tindall removed to London, in the hope of finding a residence in the establishment of Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of London, a man noted for his moderation and learning, and esteemed an enlightened though cautious friend to religious discussion, from his intimacy with Erasmus, and from the usual moderation of his proceedings. Under the roof of this prelate, Tindall expected to find a secure abode, where he might pursue his labours in completion of that great work, the translation which he had then in progress of the New Testament into the vulgar tongue; but receiving no encouragement from Tonstall, he took up his abode in the house of one Humfrey Mummoth, or Monmouth, a rich merchant, attached to the new doctrines, and formerly a friend, in time of trouble, to Colet. With this person Tindall remained six months; leading, in his habits and diet, the life of a monk, or rather such as a monk professed to live; and collecting, during this period, by his observations upon the pride, luxury, and vices of the clergy, materials for exposing their corruptions to the world; but finding that

his efforts would have little scope during the present state of affairs in England, Tindall passed over to the Continent, and took up his abode at Antwerp. Here he published, in 1526, his translation of the New Testament into English, as Wood asserts, under the name of Thomas Matthew*, although the appellation which he usually assumed was that of Hiaticus.† This important undertaking was quickly succeeded by the translation of the five books of Moses, completed in 1530: which, as well as the New Testament, he enriched with prefaces and observations. Tindall next gave to the world his work "On the Obedience of a Christian Man;" besides which, "The Practice of Prelates," containing a full account of the corruptions of the Christian church, "The wicked Mammon," and various treatises in answer to the writings of Sir Thomas More, and other adversaries, established his credit as one of the ablest controversial writers of the day, with the exception of Sir Thomas More, who soon entered the lists against this formidable enemy

* This seems to be an error; for Matthew's Bible was the joint production of Tindall and Coverdale. *Lewis's Hist. of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 103.

† *Wood*, vol. i. p. 43. *Life of Tindall, from Fox's Acts and Monuments.*

to the church of Rome. Concerning the merits of Tindall's translations and original works, opinions differ; while some writers affirm that they opened "a door of light to the eyes of the English nation, which were before many years shut up in darkness*," and while even a modern divine declares that they may "still be read with pleasure and profit†," Tindall is deemed by one of our great church historians to have failed in decency and even in truth; to have given several dangerous and censurable misinterpretations of scripture, and to have spoken with irreverence of the Christian church in general. In short, he is affirmed, by an able, but prejudiced writer, to have allowed too many heterodoxies to creep in among his opinions, to be considered as among the reformed of the English church.‡

Bold and alarming as the opinions of Tindall were thought in his own time, and imperfect as the modern Protestant may perhaps consider them, even Henry, whose affections were as yet only partially weaned from the church of Rome, approved some of the compositions of that courageous and meritorious reformer. An accident first introduced one of the works of Tindall to

* *Fox's Acts and Monuments.*

† *Wordsworth*, vol. ii. p. 243, note.

‡ *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 72.

the notice of the king. During the time of his early courtship of Anne Bullen, that lady was attended by a fair young gentlewoman, named Gaynsford; and in her service, also, was retained one Mr. George Zouch, a young man of respectable family. Frequent association in their occupations, and agreeableness of person and of manners on both sides, produced a tender attachment between these young persons, and an engagement of marriage was concluded between them. In the course of their "love tricks," as Strype expresses it, Zouch one day snatched from his mistress a book, which the lady Anne Bullen had lent her to read, and which proved to be Tindall's work "On the Obedience of a Christian Man." Now Wolsey, who dreaded the effect which this book might have on the king's mind, unsettled as it then was respecting the divorce, had given a strict charge to Doctor Sampson, dean of the king's chapel, to keep a vigilant watch that it might not become generally disseminated; and especially that it might never become known to Henry. The casualty which he feared most, occurred. Mr. Zouch, enraptured with the style of the book, one of Tindall's most popular and persuasive works, was never contented but when he was perusing it, nor would he yield to the solicitations of Mistress Gaynsford, nor allow himself to be softened by her tears and

entreaties, to restore to her the treasure. It happened, however, that one day, as Zouch was in the chapel, his fixed attention to the contents of this book was remarked by Dr. Sampson, who hastily seized the work, and finding what it was, delivered it to Wolsey. In the meantime, Anne Bullen having asked her attendant, Mistress Gaynsford, to return the book which she had lent her, the young woman, falling on her knees, revealed the circumstances of her loss. Anne was neither grieved at the occurrence, nor angry with the young lovers; "but," said she, "it shall be the dearest book that ever dean or cardinal took away;" and hastening to the king, she entreated Henry that the book might be restored, a request with which the monarch instantly complied. The first use which Anne made of the recovered volume, was to beseech Henry to peruse its contents. The king complied, and was delighted with the book, which he said, "was fit for him and for all kings to read." This circumstance made an impression on the mind of Henry extremely favourable to the reformed doctrines; and probably paved the way for that great change in his mind which eventually followed.*

Notwithstanding that the writings of Tindall were thus in some degree countenanced by the

* *Strype's Eccl. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 173.

approbation of the king, the translation of the New Testament, which had been published three years before this occurrence, had been instantly prohibited by Archbishop Warham in his diocese, as well as the other works of Tindall, and some Latin treatises by Zuinglius and Brentius.* The world was, in fact, scarcely in a state of sufficient preparation to tolerate the bold innovations of Tindall; and the reception of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue was a point on which even the more liberal churchmen were still undecided, although they might favour the reformers in other respects. Besides the objections of erroneous translation, and of mischievous doctrine introduced in its pages as annotations, it was affirmed, that it was unfit and improper for laymen to read the scriptures indiscriminately; that it would make them heretics, and produce mischief to the state, as many passages might tend to draw the people from their allegiance. Under these pretexts, not only were the translations and the other works of Tindall condemned by proclamation to the flames, but a determination was evinced, among the most eminent prelates of the English church, not to allow the author to escape unpunished.† So great, indeed, was the horror entertained in those times of partial illu-

* *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. iii. p. 707.

† *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.*

mination, with respect to this learned and useful writer, that Sir Thomas More, before he could undertake the task of replying to some of the heresies, as they were termed, of Tindall, considered it necessary, first, to obtain permission to read the obnoxious works, and to retain them for a time in his possession.*

During the first proceedings of the divorce, Henry, probably with a view of conciliating the favour of the pope, had allowed and encouraged rigorous persecutions of all who were suspected of entertaining heretical opinions. At Cambridge there had been collected, since the year 1524, a small band of zealous and learned Protestants, students and fellows of the university, who held themselves prepared to face danger, and, if necessary, to suffer for the truth. Among these, the first martyrs to the cruel proceedings of government were Thomas Bilney and Arthur Young. The story of Bilney is peculiarly affecting, and affords a fine picture of conscience struggling with the fear of death and of opprobrium, and finally gaining the victory.

Bilney, as Fox informs us, had been brought up in the university almost from a child, and had become, from his superior attainments and piety, a fellow of Trinity Hall: at this time he was scrupulously attached to the forms of

* *Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 294.

the church; and being once persuaded to preach, when on a journey, in a small parish belonging to his college, he afterwards reproached himself bitterly with a breach of church discipline, as he was not then in orders.* It happened that Stafford, the divinity reader to one of the colleges, had adopted the tenets of
1525. Luther, concerning which there was during this time a fierce contention between the most eminent men in the university. The orations of Stafford were counteracted by those of Hugh Latimer, the son of a yeoman in Leicestershire, cross-bearer to the university, and one of the most vehement defenders of the established modes of faith. It was the anxious desire of Bilney to convert this young zealot to his own opinions, and the change was effected during a private interview, in which Bilney prevailed upon Latimer to listen to his confession of faith. After this conversion, Bilney, with his coadjutor Young, left the university, with a view to the more effectual dissemination of their doctrines by itinerant preaching, and began to expose openly the vices and corruptions of the clergy. This conduct could not be pursued with impunity; they were apprehended and cast into prison, and after long imprisonment, and several close examinations,

* *Fuller's Hist. Univers. Cam.* p. 107.

were persuaded by their friends to abjure, and to renounce their opinions. But, to Bilney's conscientious mind, the present security which his recantation procured him, neither brought peace, nor afforded comfort; so deep was his remorse, that his friend Latimer describes him, in a sermon preached before Edward the Sixth, as in a condition of the utmost despondency. "His friends," says he, "were fain to be with him night and day, and comfort him as they would, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword."

After bearing a faggot to St. Paul's cross, the usual mode of publishing a recantation, Bilney returned to Cambridge, "where," says Latimer, "he was in such an anguish and agonie, that nothing did him good, neither eating nor drinking, nor any other communication of God's word; for he thought the whole scriptures were against him, and sounded to his condemnation." This state of poignant contrition he endured for two years, when he announced to his friends his determination to sacrifice his life for that faith which he had renounced; a resolution which imparted to him, as he declared, more repose of mind than he had enjoyed since his abjuration. Then, bidding farewell to his com-

panions in Trinity Hall, and saying in the words of our Saviour, "now go I up unto Jerusalem," Bilney repaired to Norfolk, and preaching his former doctrines, first in private houses, and afterwards in the fields, he soon obtained the fate he sought. He was apprehended by Nix, Bishop of Norwich, and taken to that city, there to remain until a writ had been procured to sentence him to the flames.

During the imprisonment of Bilney, the most strenuous efforts were made by the clergy to reclaim him from his heretical opinions. Sir Thomas More likewise visited, and endeavoured to convert him, but without effect; for it seems that Bilney, notwithstanding what has been asserted by his adversaries, made no second abjuration, but met his severe and horrible fate with that resolution which a firm conviction of the truth and importance of the cause in which he suffered could alone inspire. When the fire was kindled around him, while the power of articulation remained, he exclaimed alternately, "Jesus! Credo!" The flames were several times blown away from him by the wind, and it was sometime before the wood was sufficiently ardent to consume his frame, thus languishing in protracted tortures. At last the work of cruelty was completed, and his body, reduced to a cinder, sank down among the ashes which sur-

rounded him.* Such was the sacrifice of virtue, learning, and true piety, to the violence of speculative opinions; and such the proceedings which Henry and his ministers thought proper to authorize towards heretics, until the opposition of Clement the Seventh to the divorce produced, fortunately, a change of sentiments towards the court of Rome.

Meanwhile parliament was prorogued, December 3d, 1529, until the following April, when it was, however, again prorogued until the month of January in the year 1531. Before its separation a bill was passed, discharging the king of all debts which he had contracted in the course of his reign; a measure not generally approved, but which was considered as a method of reproving Wolsey's friends and dependants, who had been principally concerned in supplying Henry with loans in his emergency. The losses of these persons would prevent for the future, it was thought, so irregular a method of relieving a monarch in his necessities. In return for this convenient arrangement, Henry granted a free pardon for all offences, with the exception of any transgressions against the statutes of provisors and præmunire, a measure which was intended to intimidate the clergy, and which afterwards affected that body very materially. Pardon was

* *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 52.

not to be allowed to any persons convicted of pulling down crosses on the highway. This enaction is a plain indication of the contempt of images which now began to prevail, since it was found necessary to protect them by judicial interference.

The attention of the king was so entirely engrossed by domestic concerns, at this period, that it is probable the most alarming disturbances abroad would not have interested him very deeply, except so far as they had tended to assist or to counteract the progress of his favourite scheme. A general peace, which Henry seemed in no haste to disturb, had, however, been established in Europe during the summer; Louise of Savoy, and Margaret of Austria, having settled at Cambray the terms of amity between the Emperor and Francis. Henry, with his wonted generosity, had on that occasion cancelled a debt of 290,000 crowns, which was due to him from the French king; and at the same time he presented to Henry, the second son of Francis, and his god-child, a piece of the real cross, set with jewels in the form of a fleur-de-luce, which Francis had pledged himself to redeem from Henry for Charles. This magnificent bauble had been pawned by Philip, the father of Charles, to Henry the Seventh.* The

* *Herbert.*

pope and the emperor had also engaged in a treaty, on advantageous terms for Clement; and every arrangement was made to the satisfaction of Henry, who had no other cause of discontent towards his foreign ally than the apparent indifference of the King of France to the progress of the divorce.

The unhappy Wolsey, deserted by those satellites who had formerly buzzed around him, still languished in obscurity at Esher. Upon his arrival at that abode, he had found it so destitute of all the necessary household implements, that he was necessitated, says Cavendish, "to borrow them from the Bishop of Carlisle and Sir Thomas Arundell." Constrained, from inability to maintain his household, to send away the greater part of his servants, and to borrow money from his chaplains in order to discharge some portion of the wages due to these dependants, the deep humiliation of the cardinal when he summoned before him those who had witnessed, and in some degree participated, in all his unrivalled splendour, is described by Cavendish, "as forcing tears down his cheeks, and disabling him from utterance." In this sad condition some of the domestics of Wolsey declared their resolution not to leave him until his fortunes were improved. One faithful friend, also, his principal secretary, Thomas Cromwell, after-

wards Earl of Essex, the son of a blacksmith of Putney, remained to comfort and assist the afflicted Cardinal.

The early life of Cromwell had been wild and irregular, and his youth was spent in various employments. The first situation occupied by him was that of agent to the English factory at Antwerp; he was then employed as a messenger from the town of Boston, to obtain a pardon from the pope for some offence against the ecclesiastical law; he next became a soldier in the army of the Duc de Bourbon, when engaged before the walls of Rome; and in this situation he was enabled to assist Mr. Russel, afterwards Earl of Bedford, in his escape from the French at Bologna, a service which secured him the friendship and subsequent good offices of that nobleman. Cromwell next entered into the counting-house of a Venetian merchant, whom he quitted, in order to return to England, where he purposed to enter the legal profession. It was in France that this versatile genius first became acquainted with Wolsey, who, on discovering his abilities, made him his principal agent in the dissolution of the monasteries*; and gave him a similar standing in his household with Stephen Gardiner, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas

* *Singer's Cavendish*, vol. i. p. 193.

More, who were at that time said to have been in the service of the Cardinal.*

In selecting Cromwell as his agent in monastic affairs, in preference to the two other celebrated men with whom he was associated, Wolsey evinced his usual discrimination. The prejudices of More would have disqualified him from a cordial co-operation in the extensive schemes which Wolsey projected; and the insincerity of Gardiner would have rendered such a trust as that which was conferred upon Cromwell indiscreet and dangerous. Cromwell was, however, admirably qualified for the undertaking. In his youth he had been unsettled in his religious opinions, as men of speculative dispositions and imperfect educations are frequently, in early life, inclined to be; his scepticism had even begun to affect his sense of moral distinctions between right and wrong; and he is affirmed by Cardinal Pole, "to have revealed, in conversation, a complete accordance with Machiavelian principles. Vice or virtue he considered but as names, fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the man who seeks to rise in the courts of princes." By his own confession to Cranmer, to whom he often spoke upon the subject,

* *Life of Cromwell. Wordsworth, Eccl. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 284.

Cromwell in his wildest days had little "sense or regard to God's word," or to sobriety and decency of life.

This unhappy tendency in the mind of Cromwell had been recently amended by the perusal of the New Testament, as translated by Erasmus; a book which Cromwell had not only read on his journeys to and from Rome, but had even wholly committed to memory. Under the impression of those truths, of which he thus acquired a knowledge, Cromwell became a proselyte to the Protestant faith; and it was in the freshness of his conversion that Wolsey first found him; an implacable enemy to superstition, yet a devout believer in the doctrines of christianity as unfolded in the gospel; capable of strong attachment and fidelity to a benefactor, yet ever keeping his own aggrandizement chiefly in view; energetic and daring, yet possessing both address and a turn for stratagem. In the character of Cromwell were to be found all

1525. those atributes which might be useful, if they were not essential in an undertaking such as that which Wolsey contemplated.

Wolsey now experienced, in some measure, the benefit of having retained a man of

1529. ability and resolution in his service. During his seclusion at Esher, a process had been carried on against him in the King's

Bench, upon an indictment by Sir Christopher Hales, the Attorney General; to the charges contained in which Wolsey, in hopes of obtaining mercy by an early submission, had immediately pleaded guilty. He had been in consequence deprived of all his effects, and left in the destitute condition which has been already described.* It may have been thought that this humiliation of so proud and ambitious a man would have satisfied the king, whose intention appears at first to have been to humble, and not to crush the fallen minister; but this was not sufficient for the enemies of Wolsey, who naturally desired, for their own security, to prevent the possibility of any restitution of that power which the cardinal had once enjoyed. The king was, therefore, induced to call a council of nobles in the star-chamber, by whose unanimous judgment Wolsey was condemned, but the decision of his case referred to parliament. Articles, forty-four in number, impugning him for treason, were presented, and passed in the house of lords, and were sent down to the lower house for their approbation.†

Oct. 28, 1529.

It was now that Cromwell came forward as the advocate of fallen greatness. After the dismissal of the other domestics of Wolsey's

* *Fiddes*, p. 504. † *Herbert*, p. 302.

household, he entreated and obtained permission to visit London for a few days. Hastening to the metropolis, Cromwell, having persuaded a member of the commons to allow him to occupy the place of his son, who had recently been elected into the parliament, entered the house, and joining the debate, defended his master with so much ingenuity and eloquence, that the bill was thrown out, and the danger which impended over the Cardinal averted for the present.

Meanwhile the sentiments of anger which Henry entertained towards his former favourite, appeared to be yielding to emotions of pity or of kindness. He first accorded the unhappy Cardinal his pardon; then restored him to the archbishopric of York, and to the bishopric of Winchester, and returned to him money, goods, and plate, in consideration of his reduced condition.

These consoling marks of kindness were followed by a present of a turquoise ring, sent by Sir John Russell to Esher; and by a visit from the Duke of Norfolk to the Cardinal, intended, from what could be gathered by the domestics from their discourse, to persuade Wolsey into the resignation of York House to the king, which had before been proposed. To this sacrifice Wolsey acceded, hoping, probably, to conciliate his offended master by

the concession of every point demanded *; but it was of little avail; the king, influenced by those around him, shewed the unhappy Cardinal one day proofs of regard which inspired him with hope, and at another time permitted insults which the proud, though dejected spirit of Wolsey could ill endure. Frequently was his household summoned to attend upon the king; sixteen of his yeomen were taken from him on one occasion; many whom he had promoted were bereaved of their offices; in short, no opportunity was allowed to escape of irritating and of persecuting this fallen but illustrious statesman.

The Bishop of Bayonne, who visited Wolsey during his retirement at Esher, represents him in his letters "as a man completely depressed and sinking under the weight of his sorrows." When the cardinal attempted to represent his

* During the visit of the Duke of Norfolk to Wolsey, a degree of ceremony during dinner is related by Cavendish to have taken place, which shows with what extreme reverence the clergy at that period were treated. When the water was brought to the Cardinal to wash before dinner, he called his guest to wash with him; but the duke excused himself; nor could Wolsey prevail upon him to enter upon this familiarity, which he alleged was improper between a duke, and so exalted a person as a cardinal, and the Archbishop of York; persons of that high station, being, as it appears, entitled to wash after the king and queen. *Singer's Cavendish*, vol. i. p. 213.

distresses to the Frenchman, "both heart and speech," says Du Bellay, "failed him entirely, and he wept and prayed that the king and Anne Bullen would have pity upon him. But after all," continues the ambassador, "he left me without saying any thing more than what his face expressed for him; it is wasted away to half its former size. He even declared himself ready to give up the very shirt on his back, and to live in a hermitage, provided the king would forgive him."*

At length the agitation produced by alternations of hope and of despondency, evinced itself in the inroads made upon the health of the cardinal. On hearing that his life was endangered by his disease, the king sent his own physician, Dr. Butts, to see him, and to report the state of his health; and added to this mark of attention, affectionate messages both from himself and from Anne Bullen, who, as a token of her peculiar favour, charged Dr. Butts to deliver to the cardinal from her, a tablet of gold which she usually wore at her side. Reassured by these attentions, Wolsey rapidly recovered; and weary of the solitude of Esher, he entreated permission, through Cromwell, to remove to some residence in the vicinity of the court. This petition was granted by Henry, without

* *Lettres Du Bellay, Le Grand,* vol. iii.

the knowledge of his council, and Wolsey was permitted to take up his abode at Richmond, the palace of which he had repaired, previous to his disgrace, at a very considerable expence; but now, considering that the lodge of the great park was a more suitable situation for a man of ruined fortunes than a royal residence, he established himself in this humble tenement, which Cavendish describes as a "pretty
1530. house and neat, having a fair garden." Here the cardinal remained until Lent, passing the quiet evenings of unvaried days in walking up and down the alleys of his little pleasure ground, in conversation, and in devotional exercises with his chaplains.

But in this retreat Wolsey was not allowed long to remain, his enemies being fearful lest he should avail himself of his proximity to the court to reinstate himself in the favour of the king. He received at Lent, therefore, a command from the king to repair to his archbishopric, an order which the mortified cardinal was unable to obey, until Henry had sent him the sum of a thousand pounds, to defray the expences of his journey. Previous to his departure, he removed into that retreat at the charter-house of Richmond, which the virtuous Collet had prepared as a refuge from the bustle and turmoils of the busy world; and here, "in afternoones would

he sit," says Cavendish, "with one of the auncient fathers of that house in their celles, who converted him, and caused him to despise the vaine glory of the worlde; and gave him shirtes of haire to weare, the which he wore diverse times after. And thus he continued for the time of his abode there in godly contemplation."

On leaving Richmond, Wolsey travelled to Peterborough, with a train of a hundred and sixty persons, and followed by seventy-two carts, laden with household furniture, provisions, and materials for building, from his college at Oxford. From Peterborough, the Cardinal proceeded to Southwell, a place in the diocese of York, about three miles from Newark, where he was, for some time, obliged to remain at the house of a prebend, until the episcopal palace could be prepared for his reception. Here, however, Wolsey behaved so as to win the esteem of the neighbourhood; he kept an open house for all visitants; gave alms to the poor at his own gate; and gained universal good-will by his hospitality, his conduct as a landlord, and his attention to the services of the church. "He gave byshops a right good ensample (says an old writer) how they might wyn men's hartys. There were few dayes but he would ride five or six myle from his house, nowe to this parishe churche, nowe to that, and there

cause one or two of his doctoures to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amonges them, and sayd masse before all the parishe. He sawe whye churches were made. He began to restore them to their proper use. He broughte his dinner with hym, and bad dyvers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge betweene any of them: yf there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the churche, and made them all one."*

After remaining some time at Southwell, Wolsey removed, by way of Newstead and Rufford, to Scroby, where he continued until Michaelmas, pursuing the same commendable mode of life as at Southwell, associating familiarly with his neighbours, advising them kindly, composing their differences, and rejecting those amusements which were unsuitable to the clerical character, He refused even to join in the diversion of hunting, which he had formerly passionately enjoyed, and in which he might have indulged, from the civility of the Earl of Shrewsbury, who possessed the domain of Worksop near Wresil. But while Wolsey was receiving proofs of popularity and respect from his neighbours, which he had never obtained in the days of his greatness, his enemies were

* See *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. i. note, p. 492. extract from a Remedy for Sedition, pub. 1536.

more than ever impressed with the necessity of destroying a man, who could render himself thus powerful, even in adversity. Reports were conveyed to the king's ears, of the hospitality and state which his degraded favourite maintained; and these accounts were exaggerated in order to impress the mind of the king with the danger of suffering so ambitious and unsubdued a character to retain and exercise so great a degree of influence in society. Unfortunately there were circumstances which appeared to favour these representations; Wolsey had never been installed into his archbishopric, and he was now preparing to undergo that ceremony soon after Allhallow day; for this purpose he had repaired to Cawood Castle, a residence seven miles distant from York, which he had recently rendered habitable. The king was informed of this necessary and innocent project with all the additions that envy could suggest. It was represented that the Cardinal purposed to solemnize this event, in a style superior in splendour to that which any of his predecessors had displayed; a statement, according to Cavendish, false and malicious; for although, says he, "there wanted no store of great and fat beastes and muttones, wildfowle, and venison, both red and fallowe, and other things such as would plentifully have

furnished his feaste," yet all these provisions had been supplied, unknown to Wolsey, by the abbots and priors of the neighbourhood. It was even the intention of the cardinal to present an example of humility to his diocesans, by walking bare-footed from a chapel in York to the minster, without the preparation usually made on similar occasions, to render the path less rugged.

It was, however, determined by the king and his council, that Wolsey should be arrested upon a charge of high treason, on which no grounds could be alleged except some unguarded expressions which are conjectured to have fallen from the lips of the Cardinal.* The person commanded to execute the king's warrant, was Henry Earl of Northumberland, the former lover of Anne Bullen, and once an inmate in the household of Wolsey.† This nobleman was deputed, as being at this time warden of the marches, to undertake this commission, the execution of which was ascribed, without probability, to resentment of former wrongs. Sir Walter

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 340.

† Either this Earl of Northumberland or his father was the fictitious hero of Chevy Chace, the scene of which is laid in the reign of Henry the Eighth; but although frequent quarrels actually took place between the English and Scotch borderers, yet none of the Earls Percy, about that period, were personally engaged in these skirmishes. *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 192.

Walch, one of the privy council, had been dispatched to the earl with the king's commission, and now accompanied him with a number of retainers belonging to the house of Northumberland, and with many gentlemen of the county, to Cawood Castle. The conduct of the earl on this occasion has been stigmatized as ungrateful; but, it appears from a letter written by that nobleman to his friend the Earl of Arundel, that little affection was due from him to Wolsey, on the plea of early kindness. Percy now, however, prepared to execute his commission, and being admitted within the hall of Cawood Castle, he commanded the porter to deliver to him the keys of the castle gates; but this order was stoutly resisted by the domestic, who alleged that the care of the portal was given in charge to him by his master, and that it would be as carefully guarded from improper intruders by him as by any one of the earl's servants: the faithful seneschal was allowed, therefore, to retain his symbols of office on his taking an oath that no man should have either ingress or egress through the gates. This point being settled, the earl caused his entrance to be announced. On the approach of Northumberland, Wolsey determined to meet his fate with composure. The unfortunate cardinal had just dined, and was preparing to rise from table,

when the news of the arrival of the earl reached him. This intelligence was communicated to him by a domestic, who happened to have reconnoitred the strangers, from a loophole in the staircase, which commanded a view of the great hall: but this was not the only intimation by which the mind of the Cardinal had been, in some measure, led to anticipate a fresh calamity. In those days the most trifling accident was converted into an omen; and Wolsey, with all his greatness of soul, was not, in this respect, superior to the prejudices of his age.

On All-hallown day, at the termination of his dinner, which the cardinal, deserted now by the great and the gay, took usually in the company of some of his chaplains, his physician, Dr. Augustine, on rising from the "table's end," where he had sat, beneath the salt, as one of the domestics of the household, had caught, in the folds of a "boisterous gown of black velvet," as Cavendish describes it, the cardinal's silver cross, which was always placed in a corner of the room at the extremity of the board; and the head of Dr. Bonner one of the chaplains, who was making his obeisance to the cardinal, was slightly grazed by the edges of the cross. This accident was regarded by Wolsey as a prognostic of his approaching fate, and the circumstance of blood having been visible on

the head of Bonner, seemed to affect him very sensibly. He withdrew to his apartment, and remained there some time in prayer.

Wolsey received Northumberland with the hospitality and dignity habitual to him; reproached the earl courteously with not having given him intelligence of his approach, so that due preparation might have been made for him and his train; and leading Percy into his own sleeping room, desired him to change his apparel, if he required that accommodation, previously to partaking of the dinner. Cavendish, who, as gentleman usher to Wolsey, was alone present, describes the earl as scarcely able to reply to these attentions: he trembled, and his voice was faint from agitation: at last, when both Wolsey and he were standing near the fire-place, in the enclosure of a window, the earl said, in a voice almost inarticulate, and laying his hand upon the arm of the cardinal, "My lord, I arrest you of treason." These words seemed to astound him to whom they were addressed, and he stood for some moments without uttering a reply. At length he enquired to see the earl's commission, and this request being refused, he declared that he would not submit without seeing the authority by which he was arrested, but submitted afterwards to be taken in custody by Sir Walter Walch, whom he recognized to be a member of the privy

council. Meanwhile, Dr. Augustine was also arrested by Walch, the keys of the house were surrendered to the earl, and consternation was spread through the castle. On the following day, the commissioners, after arranging every part in Wolsey's household, according to their instructions, dispatched several persons to London with Dr. Augustine, bound to his horse, as a traitor. They then prepared to carry Wolsey with them, on their road to the metropolis.

As the cardinal had chosen, for the last time, to perform mass before his household, it was nearly evening before the procession set forth. At the gates of the castle, it was joined by a number of country gentlemen whom the Earl of Northumberland had summoned to attend on this occasion; and more than three thousand persons were assembled, who expressed their good-will and commiseration for the unfortunate Wolsey by crying out, "God save your grace! God save your grace! evil take them that have taken you!" and with these acclamations they followed the procession through the town of Cawood. From Pomfret the cardinal was conducted to Doncaster, and thence to Sheffield Park, the seat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he was received with courtesy, and treated with that delicate consideration of which his misfortunes now rendered him doubly sensible. But not-

withstanding the consolations which his host endeavoured to pour into his ear, Wolsey, during the fortnight which he passed at Sheffield Park, palpably declined, and some suspicions were entertained by his attendants of his having taken poison, the attentive and compassionate Cavendish having observed him hastily swallow a confection taken from a white paper. In vain did Sir William Kingston, constable of the tower, who was sent to him by the king to convey him forwards, assure him of the good-will which Henry bore him; the very name of Kingston is said to have struck additional terror into the heart of the Cardinal, of whom it had been prophesied that he should meet his end at Kingston, and who had, on that account, as it has been asserted, carefully avoided ever passing through the town of Kingston upon Thames.* His illness continuing, and being attended with symptoms of danger, Wolsey was allowed to remain a few days longer at Sheffield Park; at length, however, he proceeded on his journey, his debility increasing as he went, till, on arriving near Leicester, he nearly fell from his mule. At Leicester Abbey he was met by the abbot and monks of the convent, who came out with torches to conduct him to a place of repose. Wolsey,

* See note from *Lord Henry Howard's Book against Prophecies. Singer's Cav.* vol. i. p. 305.

aware that this was the last journey that he should ever make, addressed the prior in these words: "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you;" and riding onward to the foot of the stairs leading to the apartments prepared for him, he was with difficulty supported to his chamber by Sir William Kingston. He went immediately to his bed, whence he never rose again.

During his last illness, Wolsey expressed neither any expectation, nor any desire of his recovery. He confessed his sins, manifested a sincere conviction of his errors, and uttered the well-known address to Kingston, who attended him with much assiduity to the last, "had I but served God as diligently as I have done the king, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs;" a sentiment, which, trite as it has become, can never be perused without affording a moral lesson which goes instantly to the heart of the reader. The dying cardinal then prayed to be commended to the king, and entreated to have all things recalled to the mind of his sovereign, which had passed between him and Henry concerning the divorce; "and then," said he, "shall his grace's conscience knowe, whether I have offended him or no. He is a prince," continued the dying cardinal, "of royal courage, and hath a princely heart; but

rather than he will miss or want any part of his pleasure, he will endanger one half of his realm; for I assure you I have kneeled before him the space sometimes of three hours, to persuade him from his will and appetite, but I never could dissuade him therefrom. Therefore, Mr. Kingston, I warn you of it, should it chaunce you hereafter to be of his privy council, as for your wisdom you are very meet, be well assured and advised what ye put into his head, for ye shall never put it out again." These, with some warnings to the king to beware of the Lutherans, were the last injunctions which Wolsey delivered. At length, as his speech began to fail him, his attendants spoke to him of Christ's passion, and called up the yeomen of the guard to be witnesses of his last moments; while the abbot, hastening to his bed-side, attempted to administer extreme unction. He died at eight o'clock in the morning, on the 29th of November, 1530; the hour of his departure having been foretold by himself the day before. He was interred, on the following evening, in the chapel of Leicester Abbey*, by torch-light, with all the ceremony due to his ecclesiastical dignities; but previous

* Where, says Lord Herbert, he had prepared a monument for himself, designed by Benedetto, an Italian artist; but which, not being finished at the time of his death, was seized by Henry the Eighth.

to this solemnity, it was thought proper that the mayor and aldermen of Leicester should see the body, in order to prevent any false rumours which might prevail concerning the manner or reality of his death. On inspection, it was found that Wolsey had constantly worn a hair shirt next to his skin, a mark of penance which none of his attendants suspected his having adopted. It is not specified by Cavendish that any appearances of poison were observed on the body of his deceased master; and, although several contemporary writers have repeated the assertion that Wolsey poisoned himself, yet, there is little grounds for believing the statement. His health was in an infirm and precarious state when he undertook his journey northwards; and it could not be deemed surprizing that with a mind and body fevered by anxiety, an attack of dysentery, by which his death was occasioned, should rapidly have proved fatal.*

The qualities of Wolsey, as his encomiast, Dr. Fiddes, has observed, may be collected from a review of his history, rather than from any observations which proceed from the pen of his biographer. His faults are, indeed, sufficiently

* The passage in Cavendish which suggests the notion that Wolsey poisoned himself, is supposed by Dr. Wordsworth to be an interpolation, since it is not to be met with in any manuscript copy. Fiddes interprets it to imply that he was poisoned by other hands than his own.

apparent, but it may be necessary to point out those great and useful qualities which he has been allowed by various historians to have possessed, and of which his contemporaries, unjust in their sentiments towards him in general, could not withhold from him the credit. In his office of chancellor, Wolsey has been admitted, even by his enemies, to have been regular and diligent in the execution of business, and usually equitable in his decrees. Yet as a legislator, unqualified praise cannot be accorded to one, who, when his immediate interests were concerned, regarded his own profits rather than the dictates of justice; and the abuses exercised in the legatine courts over which the Cardinal presided, are not reconcilable with his usual equity in the administration of justice. As a churchman, if we deny that Wolsey had the true spirit of religion in his heart, we must allow that he was zealous in his devotion to the interests of the hierarchy under which he served; and that his exertions in its behalf were guided by views of an enlightened nature. In the regulation and suppression of monasteries, and in his efforts to oppose learning in the church against learning in the reformers, Wolsey evinced a just conception of the disease which preyed upon the vitals of pontifical supremacy, and of the means by which the seeds of its corruption could alone have

been eradicated. As a patron of learning, and of the arts, Wolsey shines without a speck upon his lustre. His philosophical attainments were obscured by the subtleties of the Thomists, and although not eminent in literary acquirements,* yet, Wolsey was aware of its importance to religion and of the superiority which it gave to the character of the nation in general. His endowment of the colleges and his patronage of the fine arts in general, are not the only testimonies which Wolsey gave of his regard for intellectual attainments. It was through his intervention that Erasmus was invited by Henry the Eighth to reside in England; and although the offer of a permanent provision in this country was afterwards declined by that great scholar, who plainly perceived that "Henry and Wolsey were no masters for him," yet, he ever accorded the meed of praise to the munificence of Wolsey, in promoting the interests of learning. The commendation was the more valuable, as bestowed upon the cardinal by one "who loved him not," however he may have estimated and eulogized the public virtues of Wolsey. The household of Wolsey, says the impartial historian Strype, "was composed of persons of no slight

* His style in missives, says Lord Herbert, was rather copious than elegant, yet always tending to the point.

† *Jortin's Eras.* vol. i. p. 111. and p. 130.

and trivial literature, since they were dear to Erasmus and to Wolsey."

With regard to the private character of Wolsey, if we look for that correctness of deportment and strictness of moral principle which distinguish the English prelates of the present day, our expectations will be disappointed. The profligacy of Wolsey's conduct, and his defiance of decorum and of propriety in some of his actions, were notorious; and he was guilty of gross deviations from his duty as an ecclesiastic, and as a member of society, in violating those rules of justice which are necessary for the comfort and benefit of mankind. In the thirty-eighth article of his impeachment, he is charged with an act of oppression against Sir John Stanley, knight, whom he imprisoned in the Fleet Prison for one year, in order to compel him to resign a farm which he held in lease of the abbot and convent of Chester, to a man named Lark, who had married a woman by whom the Cardinal had had two children.* It has been admitted too, that Wolsey left a son named Winter, of whose relationship to him the conduct of the Cardinal affords strong presumptive evidence; for not only did Winter receive, through means of his reputed father, a liberal education at Paris, but he

* *Herbert.*

obtained, through the same source, no less than eleven preferments; and in the grant of arms made to him, in which his several benefices are enumerated, there is a near affinity with those livings held by the Cardinal. This man maintained, subsequently, a respectable character both for learning and morals.*

Accusations upon the score of moral conduct were not refuted, nor even denied by Wolsey. Hypocrisy was not the vice of his lofty mind. He had too much penetration not to see, that in private life it is seldom long successful in deluding any but the weak and credulous; while, in the exercise of his public functions, he well knew, that it was far easier to retain power by open and even daring measures, than by dastardly and pusillanimous intrigues. This line of conduct affords in some degree a reason for the long duration of those high and dazzling honours by which Wolsey was distinguished; for he had to deal with a prince who could endure his arrogance and usurpation of power, but who could not forgive deception. His demeanour, with regard to the divorce, affords a lamentable exception to the rule by which his actions were usually guided.

Immediately after the interment of Wolsey, Cavendish and Kingston departed from Leicester,

* See *Fiddes*, p. 531.

and in a few days reached Hampton Court, where the king then resided. On the day after their arrival, the king sent for Cavendish, who, on obeying the summons, found Henry engaged in shooting at the rounds in the park. Perceiving that the king was engrossed with his occupation, Cavendish, leaning against a tree, fell into a train of thought, from which he was aroused by Henry, who clapping him upon the shoulders, and calling him by his name, told him, that, after finishing his game, he would converse with him: accordingly, a conference ensued between the monarch and the gentleman-usher, which lasted an hour or more. It turned chiefly upon pecuniary matters; the king, if we may believe the statement of Cavendish, expressing little interest concerning his former favourite, except with regard to a sum of money which Wolsey had recently obtained, and which Henry suspected to have been sequestered from some of his confiscated property. Yet Henry is stated by Lord Herbert to have declared, that he would have given twenty thousand pounds rather than have lost so valuable a man *; and it has been supposed, by various historians, that the severe measures exercised against Wolsey were adopted with the view of rendering him conformable to the divorce, and of inducing him to take that part in the

* *Cavendish*, vol. i. p. 329.

decision of the affair, to which Cranmer afterwards acceded.*

Such was the termination of the career of that man, whose life is aptly described by Du Bellay, after visiting him in his retirement at Esher, as "*Le plus grand exemple de fortune qu'on ne scauroit voir.*"† It appears from the same writer, that the unhappy Cardinal had interceded for the mediation, in his behalf, of the king of France with Henry; a slender hope of succour to one who was formerly supposed to govern all the monarchs of Christendom by his power and address, and to whom those very princes had frequently deigned to address themselves as "brothers and friends." It does not appear that this interference in behalf of Wolsey took place; and it would probably have been of no avail, for a stronger influence than political interest, at this time, governed the soul of Henry. "*Le pis de son mal,*" says Du Bellay, speaking of Wolsey, "*est que Mademoiselle de Boulen a faict promettre à son amy que il ne l'escoutera jamais parler; car elle pense bien qu'il ne pourroit garder d'en avoir pitie.*‡

The clergy were this year more than usually

* *Herbert*, p. 342. *Fiddes*, p. 533, from *Godwin's Annals*' p. 45.

† *Lettres Du Bellay*, from *Le Grand*, vol. iii. 12mo.

‡ *Ibid.*

solicitous to compromise the favour of the king by the liberality of their new year's gifts. Some of them presented the king with the sum of fifty pounds; while the richest among the lay lords did not exceed thirty pounds in their donations; and the wealthy Earl of Oxford gave only ten pounds two shillings and sixpence. These gifts were not, however, divested of taxes which diminished their value; for the servants who delivered them expected remunerations, which amounted, altogether, to a considerable expence.*

* See *Strype. Ellis's Original Letters.* In which, among various and curious items in the Princess Mary's household book, is specified in her own handwriting — "To my Lord Privey Seale's servaunte, for brynging his newe year's gift, IIII Angeles."

CHAP. V.

Cranmer: his favour with the King. — Proceedings relative to the Divorce. — Henry forbids the introduction of bulls into England. — Advocates of the queen's cause. — Conduct of the king towards her. — Proceedings of Parliament: of Convocation. — Crime and punishment of Richard Rouse. — Anne Bullen accused by Sanders of suggesting the deed. — Law against Egyptians: with respect to Sanctuaries: to exchange of money. — Final separation of the King and Queen. — Thomas Abell's work on the Divorce: the King's proceeding in consequence. — Disturbance in London. — Beginning of the Slave Trade. — Parliament prohibits the payment of Annates. — The King builds St. James's Palace: disperses the Canons of Christ Church. — Affairs at Rome. — The King cited to Rome. — Proceedings of a fresh Parliament: proposition of Themse. — Henry's speech to the Lords: he obliges the Parliament to acknowledge his supremacy. — Resignation of Sir Thomas More. — The seals conferred upon Audley. — Anne Bullen created a Marchioness. — Interview between Francis and Henry. — Marriage of Henry to Anne Bullen: that with Katharine declared null and void. — Persecution of reformers, in England. — Statute condemning appeals to Rome. — Death and character of Warham. — Bainham. — The primacy offered to Cranmer: his equivocal conduct.

To a prince so greatly agitated by hopes and fears as was Henry the Eighth at
1530. this juncture, it was of the utmost importance to have some confidential

servant, devoted to the cause to which the wishes of his sovereign were directed, and possessed of talents adapted to forward those desires. From Wolsey, the general tenour of whose conduct was adverse to the repudiation of Queen Katharine, whatever his early views of the subject may have been, the king had never experienced a cordial co-operation. The minister whom Henry required was quickly supplied to him in the person of Cranmer, whose coincidence with the king's sentiments on this point, far more than his eminent and virtuous qualities, secured to him the highest place in the esteem of the monarch.

Upon his first interview with the king, Cranmer had been enjoined by the impatient Henry to write an exposition of the arguments relative to the divorce; and he was for that purpose established by the king, during the progress of his work, in the household of the Earl of Wiltshire. Upon his deducing from the authority of the scriptures, of general councils, and of ancient writers, the acceptable inferences "that the Bishop of Rome had no authority whereby he might dispense with the word of God and the Scripture," the eager inquiry of Henry was, "Whether he would abide by this opinion before the Bishop of Rome?" "That I will do, by God's grace," replied Cranmer, "if your majesty

send me thither." "Marry," replied the king, "I will send you even to him on a sure embassy."* Upon this assurance Cranmer was sent to the Pope, on an embassy, the state and pomp of which were to be sustained by the Earl of Wiltshire; the argumentative part by Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley Bishop of London, Dr. Carne, Dr. Tonstall who was translated to the see of Durham, Dr. Bennet and other eminent persons. On arriving at Bologna, where the Pope then resided, they were admitted to his presence, when an occurrence, otherwise of little importance, manifested with what sentiments the ambassadors performed their commission; for on his holiness proffering them his toe to kiss, the Earl of Wiltshire, who was the first in rank, stood back, and his example was followed by the rest of his party, while an unmannerly spaniel, belonging to the earl, was the only individual that attempted to perform the ceremony, which, according to report, he did in so rough a mode, that the pope was in some haste to withdraw his foot. This circumstance was afterwards regarded as an omen of succeeding events.†

The ambassadors, although well received, yet obtained no satisfaction from his holiness, and after the promise of a public disputation, which

* See *Fox's Life of Cranmer. Wordsworth,* vol. iii. p. 441.

† *Life of Cranmer,* p. 442.

was deferred from day to day, the Earl of Wiltshire and all the other commissioners, except Cranmer, returned to England, weary of their ineffectual mission and their residence in a foreign land. Cranmer, repairing to the emperor at Vienna, engaged there with Cornelius Agrippa, an officer in the service of the emperor, in an argument concerning the lawfulness of the king's marriage, and completely silenced him. But, although the decrees of the English universities had been previously given in the king's favour, and a similar decision had been added from the university of Orleans, yet it had been deemed necessary, in the preceding year, for the king's emissaries to collect all the votes that could be obtained from other learned bodies.

One of the most active agents in this business was Dr. Richard Croke, who had formerly been tutor to the Duke of Richmond. This able divine visited the towns of Venice, Padua and Bologna; and, without disclosing the nature of his occupation, sounded most of the canonists and divines whom he encountered, concerning their sentiments of the disputed point. Finding, as he wrote to the king, that they were almost universally favourable to the divorce, yet, that they were fearful of expressing their opinions, on account of the agents of the pope and of

the emperor, Croke suggested that a brief should be required from his holiness, permitting all canonists and divines to express, conscientiously and freely, their opinions without fear or hazard: but this liberty, however fair and equitable it may seem, was not obtained without difficulty, the pope at first declaring that "no friars should discuss his power." The request appeared, however, to be so reasonable, that it could not long be refused; and provided with this instrument, Croke, Stokeley, and Gregory de Cassalis, the king's agents, obtained, in their various departments, decisions almost unanimously condemning the marriage between Henry and Katharine. It appears, that far from any bribery being resorted to on this occasion, the commissioners were but scantily provided with means for their own necessary expences.* At Milan, notwithstanding the threats of the pope and the emperor's agents, most of the divines, canonists and friars, subscribed a decree pronouncing the marriage contrary to divine law. At the university of Bologna, a signal triumph was obtained, from the clear and forcible terms in which the marriage was condemned: Padua and Ferrara followed the example of Bologna. At Paris, the doctors of the Sorbonne, whose decrees had for some ages been regarded

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 163.

as little inferior to those of councils, discussed the question with great solemnity; and, after many disputes, the majority determined "that the marriage of the King of England was unlawful, and that the Pope had no power to dispense with it." At Angiers and Thoulouse, the same sentiments prevailed.

The Lutherans, in Germany, were generally unanimous in condemning the marriage: but Erasmus, from regard to Queen Katharine, for whom he professed the highest esteem, refused to give an opinion; and, probably, regarding the contested point as one of those controversies which are "prickly like brambles, apt to scratch those that handle them, but yielding no savoury nor wholesome fruit*," he was cautious and reserved in expressing his public opinions, and treated the matter as a jest among his friends. "If I were arbitrator in the matter," said he to Ludovicus Vives, "I would rather give the king two wives, than take one from him."† Osiander, whose niece Cranmer about this time married, Zuinglius, and Calvin, favoured the cause of the king. The learned Melancthon has been accused of recommending polygamy to the king; but, although this charge was unjust, yet, it appears that he was equally undecided with Erasmus.

* *Barrow's Sermons.*

† *Jortin's Eras.* vol. i. p. 463.

The Lutherans in Italy opposed the divorce. In short, among the reformers, there seems to have been no great unanimity on the point in question; and although it was evidently their interest, as a body, to favour that side of a question which tended to separate so powerful a prince as Henry from the see of Rome, yet, they declined expressing their sentiments; nor could the Reformers on the continent be brought entirely to approve the second marriage into which the king afterwards entered. *

When Henry had received the decisions of the universities, he determined to address the Pope, in such a manner as should make him tremble for his authority in this country. In order to give more effect to his remonstrances, the king put them into the form of a letter, which was signed by a great number of the nobility and clergy, and by many members of the parliament: and, to this document, Wolsey, two or three months before his death, had added his subscription. This epistle, which was written with great vehemence, plainly intimated to his holiness that, if justice were denied the king at his hands, other remedies would be sought. The Pope, however, granted but little satisfaction in his answer; and, although he must have foreseen the consequences of persisting in his denial of

* See *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 56.

the wishes which were urged with so much impetuosity, yet, he remained firm, either from dread of the power of the emperor, or from a tenacity of his own opinions and authority.

Henry was now completely exasperated, and was resolved to keep no measures with the obstinate pontiff. Apprehending that the next steps of the Pope would be to publish some bull in England, in favour of the queen, he issued a proclamation forbidding the publication Sept. 19, 1530. of any bulls procured from Rome, or elsewhere, contrary to his royal prerogative or authority, under pain of incurring his indignation, imprisonment, and other punishments on the persons of the offenders.*

The next proceeding of Henry was to order a collection and publication to be made of such opinions by the fathers and councils as favoured his cause. These arguments were prefaced by the decisions of the universities, and were summed up in a short book, printed first in Latin and afterwards in English. The queen, on the other hand, had her advocates in Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, in Cardinal Cajetan and in Victoria; but their discussions, however interesting at the period of their publication, would now afford somewhat dry matter of speculation, when all ardent feelings on the subject have

* See *Burnet*, book ii. vol. i. p. 176.

long since subsided. The wrongs of Queen Katharine continued, however, to be a source of the deepest interest, especially among her own sex, who, as Hall relates, especially "such," he adds, "as were more wilfull than wise or learned," became her partisans; while the men usually justified the motives and the measures of the king. The queen was neither to be moved nor softened in her resolution by any opinion either public or private, and she persisted in standing to her appeal to Rome, and in maintaining the validity of her marriage. Henry, whose deportment towards her merits commendation, whether it proceeded from policy, or from consideration for her feelings, still evinced to her the utmost kindness and respect, although he had long since relinquished her as a wife. The king and queen, therefore, passed their Christmas together at Greenwich, in the usual festivities, which were varied, according to custom, by interludes, masques, and banquets, until after Twelfth-night. Henry frequently visited the queen, and dined with her; caressed with his wonted tenderness the Princess Mary; and permitted all the state and dignity consistent with the rank of his queen to be maintained around her: but neither could this soothing conduct, nor the representations of those who had most influence with Katharine, bring her to consent to a pro-

posal which Henry now made, that she should give up her appeal to Rome, and submit her cause to the judgment of any four prelates and four secular men, in England. She remained inexorable, and the king, disconsolate, refused to participate in any public diversions; and, removing to the deserted palace of Whitehall, Westminster, formerly called York Place, which, as has been already stated, was a gift from Wolsey, passed some time in privacy and dejection. Here, however, Henry solaced his hours of sadness and impatience by schemes of improvement highly favourable to the arts. The celebrated Holbein, both an architect and a painter, invited by Henry among other artists to embellish the English court with his valuable productions, completed, during this year, a beautiful gateway of stone opposite the banquetting house in Whitehall, embattled at the top, and ornamented with busts of baked clay in proper colours, glazed in the manner of Delft ware*, and of so durable a composition as to resist all attacks of the weather. Three of these busts are said to have represented Henry the Seventh, Henry the Eighth in his youth, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. This celebrated entrance was built as a passage to the tennis-court, bowling-green, cock-pit, and tilting-yard adjoining

* *Archæologia*, vol. iv. p. 107.

Whitehall; the gallery of which has been already mentioned, as erected early in the reign of Henry the Eighth.*

Meanwhile the business of the divorce was rapidly drawing to a conclusion. When the parliament met on the sixteenth of January, the decisions of the universities were brought into the House of Lords; and, after they had been duly considered there, the Lord Chancellor, with twelve spiritual and twelve temporal lords, presented them to the commons, to whom they were read by Sir Brian Tuke in English. After this, a hundred books, written in favour of the divorce by foreign divines, were shewn, and the reading deferred till another time. The chancellor, Sir Thomas More, then addressed the house, "desiring that the members would report in all countries what they had seen and heard, that then all men should clearly perceive, that the king had not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as strangers say, but only for the discharge of his conscience and the security of the succession to the crown."†

* This gateway was taken down 1750, according to Pennant, p. 33. The same writer states that William, Duke of Cumberland, had intended to build a similar edifice at the top of the long walk at Windsor, and, for this purpose, had all the stones numbered, but the design never took effect.

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 193.

In the convocation, which sat at the same time, the marriage was declared unlawful, and the bull of dispensation of no force. In obtaining this sentence, the king had reason to dread some resistance from the clergy; but, fortunately for his cause, he had a hold upon them, to which they dared not make resistance. As the parliament had recently found Wolsey liable to the penalty of the statute of præmunire, so all those who had had suits in his legatine court had fallen under a similar accusation; and an indictment was therefore brought into the King's Bench against all the clergy in England. The statutes of provisors and of præmunire, which had been made to repel the encroachments of papal authority, had, indeed, long lain dormant, and several cardinals, besides Wolsey, had exercised a legatine authority with impunity; but having been revived, as the only feasible plea against Wolsey, they were now available to the king, and afforded an opportunity both of checking the court of Rome, and of holding the clergy in subjection. By the convocation of the province of Canterbury, a petition was signed, and addressed to the king as protector and supreme head of the church of England, praying that the king would accept of a sum of £100,000 in lieu of punishments, to

which the clergy had become liable; upon which his majesty granted them a general pardon.

But Henry had a more important object in view than the requisition of a grant: he had, for some time, contemplated the possibility and weighed the expediency of assuming the supreme administration of ecclesiastical affairs, and the divorce had gradually wrought his wishes on this point into a determination. An acknowledgment of the regal supremacy was therefore proposed; but the form first recommended on the part of the king was not considered admissible by the clergy, who assigned, as a reason for their refusal, that it might be liable to misconstruction. The terms of which they complained were the following: "The king is sole protector of the church, and supreme head of the church and clergy of England." After three days of contention, the king abated somewhat of his demands, and consented to allow the addition "after God," to be inserted after the words "head of the church;" but the clergy still resisting, notwithstanding this qualification, the phrase, "as far as it is agreeable to the law of Christ," was annexed to the former clauses.* It has been stated, as a fact worthy of observation, that this new and important assumption of authority on the part of Henry received the

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 62.

assent and subscription of two noted adherents to papacy* — Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Reginald Pole, Dean of Exeter, the most eminent advocate, among the inferior clergy, for the continuance of the old doctrines. Fisher was undoubtedly one of the members of the convocation at this period; but the charge of inconsistency cannot with justice be attached to the conduct of Pole, as he expressly states, in his most celebrated work, that he was not in England when this important measure was effected.†

The province of York, two years afterwards, offered £18,840 for a similar compromise; but some of the convocation opposing the title of Supreme Head, they received an expostulatory letter from the king‡, recommending them, in somewhat peremptory terms, to follow the example of their brethren of Canterbury; in consequence of which they not only submitted, but granted a sum of £18,840 to the king, who graciously sent them his pardon for all offences committed within the statute of præmunire. The house of commons, many of whose members had, by submitting to legatine authority, incurred similar penalties with the clergy, were also, after some hesitation on the part

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 206. † *Collier*, p. 63.

‡ See *Cabala*.

of the king, freely pardoned without a subsidy; Henry considering that it was essential to the promotion of that interest which he had most at heart, to conciliate the commons, and thus to prepare the way for future concessions from that body.

A crime of a horrible nature was made punishable during this session of parliament, in a manner almost equally barbarous and cruel with the offence. Richard Rouse, a cook in the service of the Bishop of Rochester, was discovered to have poisoned a vessel of yeast, intended to be employed in making porridge in the bishop's kitchen. Seventeen persons, who partook of the porridge, were dreadfully affected by it, and one gentleman died in consequence: some poor persons, to whom the remains of the meal were given in charity, were likewise seized with dangerous illness; and one poor woman died from its effects. Rouse was apprehended and attainted: and an act was passed in parliament, then sitting, by which the crime of poisoning was declared treason. The punishment enacted was boiling to death; a terrible sentence, which was executed upon the culprit Rouse, in Smithfield, shortly after. As slander is always at hand to affix even the most improbable imputations upon an adversary, this horrible deed of which Rouse had

Feb. 16, 1530.

been guilty was ascribed by Sanders to Anne Bullen, a slander scarcely worth refuting. The disposition of Anne, though frivolous and thoughtless, was far from cruel; and, besides, this calumny, which had no other support than the circumstance of Fisher being the advocate of Queen Katharine, was sufficiently refuted by the open mode of Rouse's trial, and by his silence on a point which would have assisted so much in his justification.*

During the continuance of this parliament, and in the course of this and of the preceding year, several salutary acts had been passed, tending to regulate abuses, and to introduce improvements of great importance to the convenience and safety of the community.

It is to the reign of Henry the Eighth, that we must refer the origin of that useful system by which we are now enabled to travel through the British dominions with speed, and with security. To this monarch we are indebted for the first statutory provision passed in this country for the repairing of bridges and of highways †; an enaction which became the more necessary after the dispersion of the monastic orders, to whom the charge of the roads had been hitherto assigned by custom; and it has been remarked,

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 208.

† *Anderson's Hist. Commerce*, vol. ii. p. 44.

as an argument in their favour, that "before the dissolution, even the highways were mended out of devotion."* It was before the destruction of conventual establishments had made much progress, in the year 1523, that the first act was passed in this country relative to a particular highway, and that permission was also given to the formation of a new road, by any respectable individual, with the consent of two justices of the peace.† By the present parliament an act was passed, empowering the justices of the peace in every shire to determine, at the quarter sessions, causes of complaint relative to the decay of bridges and of highways; and to enter "processes and pains upon every presentment afore them for the reformation of the same, against such as owen to be charged for the making and amending of such bridges, &c."‡ At this period, and until the reign of Charles the Second, the roads were repaired by a rate upon the respective landholders in each county, who were each constrained to supply carts and horses for a limited number of days.

1530.

A law was also made in this parliament con-

* *Tanner's Notitia*, pref. p. 21.

† Pub. Acts. 14th and 15th of Henry the Eighth, cap. vi. Acts, 22d Henry the Eighth, note, cap. v.

‡ *Anderson;* vol. ii. p. 44.

cerning outlandish people calling themselves Egyptians, or Gypsies, and banishing them from the country, on the plea that they abused the credulity of the ignorant, and drew sums of money from them*, by palmestry, craft, and subtlety, and also, because they had committed many heinous felonies and robberies.† Other bills were also passed, of great efficacy, one, restraining the abuses of sanctuaries‡; and others, intended to lessen the encroachments of foreigners on our commerce, by making denizen strangers to pay stranger's customs, a law which was, for some time, of great utility, as it prohibited Italian merchants and other foreign traders from transporting into their own country, the money they received for commodities which they sold in England.§ But the proclamation soon fell into disuse. ||

After the session of parliament was concluded, the attention of Henry was again wholly directed to the subject nearest his heart. To

* The Earl of Arran, Regent of Scotland, took a different method of freeing the country from these vagabonds, a few years afterwards, by ordering the sheriffs and other magistrates to assist John Faw, "Lord and Earl of little Egypt," to collect together his subjects, the Gypsies, many of whom had offended against Faw, that he might carry them back to their own country, as he had engaged to do. See *Andrew's Hist. Eng.* from Pub. Acts.

† Acts, 22 Henry the Eighth, cap. x.

‡ Ibid. cap. xiv.

§ 22d Henry the Eighth, cap. 8.

|| *Hall.* p. 781.

persuade the queen, if possible, into compliance with his wishes, he sent her a proposition to abide by the arbitration of four spiritual, and as many temporal lords, and desired her to consider the decisions of the universities, and of eminent divines. But Katharine was inexorable: she repeated her conviction that her father, King Ferdinand, would never have allowed her to retain her marriage portion, had he not firmly believed her union lawful in every sense; and expressed, for the last time, her resolution to remain queen, until the Pope should dissolve her marriage. Henry received this reply with deep mortification: he removed, after Whitsuntide, with Katharine, to Windsor, where, on the 14th of July, he bade her a last farewell, and they never met again. The king repaired to Woodstock, the queen to her manor of the More, in Hertfordshire, afterwards to East Hamstead, where she remained some time. Henry once more attempted, by a deputation of lords, to move the firm resolution of the queen; but this, like all his previous endeavours to gain her consent to the divorce, were unavailing, Katharine ever concluding her declarations with this asseveration: "But still I say I am his wife, and for him will I pray." Her jointure, which Henry assigned for her maintenance, was ample, there being allotted to her in the patent, so many

manors as yielded yearly a certain rent: viz. the sum of £3316; in fee farms, from which no commodity can arise, but the dry rents, she had the sum of £1361; the further benefits arising from these lands by fines for leases, wards, felons' goods, and other escheats, as appeared by her officer's accompts, amounted to the sum of £900 or £1000 sterling; so that the jointure of the repudiated queen amounted altogether to £5500, an income very considerable in those days, and probably more than the retired and frugal Katharine required. From the vanity of that and of every age, she was wholly and singularly exempt; and, unlike most of her female contemporaries, was accustomed to observe, "that she thought no time wasted but that which was consumed in dressing herself."

Meanwhile the topic of the king's marriage was agitated throughout the kingdom, and one Thomas Abell, chaplain to Katharine and to the Princess Mary, made many converts to her cause, by the publication of a book which he composed on the subject. Finding that public opinion was staggered by this treatise, the king caused the decisions of the universities and the judgments of divines and councils, to be printed in a simple and commodious form, suitable to general circulation.

The offering of the clergy to the king,

being at this time levied in the metropolis, a serious disturbance ensued. Stokesley, Bishop of London, a man disliked for his want of humanity and of discretion, although esteemed for his learning, on summoning the priests before him, received a complete refusal to pay the tax, which they affirmed, with some grounds, ought to be levied on the bishops and abbots only, who had fallen under the statute of præmunire. They excused themselves, likewise, on the plea of poverty, alleging, that an income of twenty nobles a year was barely sufficient for the subsistence of a priest. The priests, being encouraged by numbers of laymen who rushed with them into the chapter-house, were irritated by some opprobrious language from the bishop's servants, whom they chastised severely. Upon this, Stokesley, afraid of the consequences, was constrained to soothe the assembly and dismiss them with his blessing. They departed quietly, and thought the matter ended; but Stokesley, representing the business to Sir Thomas More, who favoured the church and prelates, about twenty of the rioters were arrested, and some committed to the Fleet, others to the Tower, where they remained a long time in durance; and three of the offenders, two priests and a lawyer, afterwards suffered death by fire in Smithfield for their crime.

It was during this year that the slave trade, as far as it relates to this country, was first
1530. begun; and although the benevolent mind cannot fail to reflect with horror alike on the commencement and progress of so inhuman a traffic, yet this circumstance affords an additional instance of the spirit of adventure and improvement which was manifested throughout the whole of this reign. It is true that a turn for maritime discovery had been already sedulously promoted by Henry the Seventh, that sagacious monarch discerning, with his usual wisdom, the advantages and powers which might accrue from its effects. Henry the Eighth, however deficient he might be in the fore-thought and prudence which marked his father's character, inherited all that it displayed of energy, and possessed a commendable ambition to distinguish his kingdom, as various instances have already evinced, by the encouragement of the useful as well as of the agreeable arts.

Henry the Seventh, after assisting the enterprize of Sir John Cabot, a Venetian, and merchant in Bristol, and the discoverer of Newfoundland and the Islands of Saint John, on the coast of America, appears to have had thoughts of forming colonies in the New World; but although that design was not accomplished until the close of the sixteenth century, it appears that in the

West Indies, especially in the Island of Cuba, so much trade was carried on by the English merchants, as to require the residence of agents in those Spanish colonies. Henry the Eighth, in pursuance of this system, had fitted out a fleet, in 1516, under the command of Sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot, in order to make discoveries in the South Seas; but this enterprize failed, through the cowardice of Sir Thomas Pert. Instigated by Mr. Thorme, a merchant of Bristol, and a celebrated maritime speculator, Henry determined, however, not to suffer the spirit of adventure to languish. In the present year, Mr. William Hawkins, father of the celebrated navigator, Sir John Hawkins, fitted out a ship at his own expence, and sailing to the coasts of Guinea and of Brazil, seized on many of the natives, and carried them to labour on foreign shores.* Notwithstanding these acts of cruelty and of injustice, Hawkins became so great a favourite with the Brazilians, that one of their kings accompanied him, subsequently, to England, and was received at Whitehall by Henry, who, as well as his court, was highly diverted by the novelty and singularity of deportment and attire which his foreign guest displayed.†

* *Andrews' Hist. Gt. Britain*, vol. ii. p.314.

† *Henry's Hist. Eng.* vol. xii. p.328.

The king, after he had obtained possession of York House, now denominated Whitehall,
1531. became desirous of extending his demesnes around that site; the palace, as Hall affirms, being a "fayre byshop's house, but not meete for a king." Henry, therefore, purchased the house and lands belonging to the monastery of Saint James, a charitable institution which had been established, before the conquest, for fourteen leprous maidens. The unfortunate persons were pensioned by the king, who also recompensed the college of Eton for the surrender, by giving up the living of Coltisham in Suffolk. After enclosing the grounds into a park, and decorating it with many commodious edifices, Henry erected, in the following year, the
1532. palace of Saint James, which presents, as it now stands, no very favourable specimen of his taste and munificence; and which seems, to our modern conceptions, far more appropriate to its original destination than to scenes of splendour, or of royal festivity. The erection of a new palace was not only an agreeable but a necessary employment to Henry, as, like some of his successors, he was rich in country seats, but destitute of any one, suitable to his dignity, in the metropolis. The old palace of Westminster, built by Edward the Confessor, and enriched with the splendid addition of the

great hall, had never been repaired since its partial destruction by fire, in 1512: so that the only residence belonging to Henry in the metropolis, besides Baynard's Castle and Bridewell, was that of Whitehall; and although it had been noted for its internal splendour in the time of Wolsey, yet it was on too small a scale to admit of all the requisite appendages to a court so gay and splendid as that which Henry continually assembled around him.

Early in January parliament again met, and again the exactions and oppressions of
1532. the clergy were investigated, and complained of in a letter to the king; but Henry, offended by the refusal of the commons to regulate a bill concerning wards and marriages, in which his interest and that of some nobles was greatly concerned, refused to grant their petition. The breach with the see of Rome, which Henry had already commenced by prohibiting the introduction of bulls into England, was increased in this parliament, by forbidding bishops to pay any more annates or money for their bulls to the pope; a source of immense revenue, the deprivation of which, it could not be presumed, the pontiff would readily pardon; for it appears that, from the fourth year of the preceding reign until the present year, £160,000 sterling had been paid to Rome in this form,

besides the profits of other dispensations and pardons.

These proceedings were probably, in some measure, hastened by the conduct of Clement the Seventh, who seems to have rushed with blind infatuation into the dangers which the divorce had produced. He wrote an ill-timed and ill-judged letter to Henry, informing him that he had heard with concern that he had put away the queen, and kept one Anne about him, a circumstance which not only gave great scandal, but which was an affront to the apostolic see, while his suit was still depending. The Pope concludes by exhorting Henry to take back his former wife, and not to disturb the peace of Christendom, (the only security against the Turk,) by irritating the emperor and his brother. To this epistle, no reply from Henry has been preserved; but it appears, by a dispatch sent to Rome, as Burnet conjectures, by Doctor Bennet, who was sent to acquaint the Pope with the decisions of the universities, that Henry was shocked at the ignorance and obstinacy of the pontiff, in not weighing and abiding by the decisions of many learned bodies, and irritated by his refusal to accede to that line of conduct, which his conscience must have informed him was equitable and expedient.*

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 219.

Clement now had recourse to a citation of the king to appear in person or by proxy at Rome, to answer the appeal of the queen. In reply to this summons, Sir Edward Carne was sent to Rome, as excusator, accompanied by Doctor Bonner, whose effrontery and outrageous zeal, in the cause of the king, obtained him an office in which it was expected those qualities would be essential. The Cardinal of Ravenna, a man of great influence and reputation in the consistory, was gained over to Henry by a bribe, in the form of a promise to endow him with church preferment in France, to the value of 6000 ducats per annum, and to confer upon him the first bishopric in England, either Ely or Chester, whichever should become vacant. But the weight this cardinal might have in the king's favour, was powerfully counteracted at Rome by the intelligence which arrived there at this time, concerning the bill in parliament against annates; added to which, was the information that a priest had been thrown into prison, in England, about the same period, for upholding the authority of the Pope; while another priest, being confined for heresy, had, on appealing to the king as supreme head of the church, been released. These tidings were not rendered less alarming and unpleasant to the Pope, by the proceedings of parliament, which met in April,

In this assembly, one Themse, a member, moved an address to the king, to recall the queen to court, on the consideration of the inconveniences which might accrue to the succession, if the Princess Mary were declared illegitimate. This motion greatly offended the king, and, in his address to the commons, he told them explicitly that the matter was not to be discussed there: "It touched his soul," as he affirmed; "he wished the marriage were good, but the doctors and learned men had determined it to be null and detestable; therefore his conscience, and not any foolish fancies or passions, obliged him to abstain from her (the queen); for the king," as he declared himself, "was then forty-one years of age, at which period reason, and not inclination, usually determines the choice." Unfortunately this remark, if it be applicable to men in general, could not be believed with respect to Henry.

The sweating-sickness now breaking out with virulence in London, parliament was prorogued; but before it separated, Henry sent for Audley the speaker, and told him that he found upon investigation, "that all the prelates were only half his subjects; for, at their consecration, they swore an oath which made them rather the subjects of the Pope than of the King of England; wherefore he referred this point to their care, and

desired that such order might be taken in it, that the king might not be deluded in it." The usual form, and that which the king proposed, were then read in the house, and, in their bearing, were found to be widely devious. Burnet has affirmed, that had not the pestilence occasioned an immediate separation of the parliament, severe contests would probably have ensued. By the first, every prelate bound himself solemnly to "conserve, defend, augment, and promote the rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the church of Rome," and not to engage in any "council, treaty, or act," which should militate against the Pope or the church of Rome. In this form there is not even an allusion of allegiance to the reigning monarch; and it became, therefore, highly requisite for the prince who contemplated the establishment of his own supremacy in ecclesiastical concerns, to substitute an oath more convenient to his own purposes. The language of that which Henry and his new counsellors now attempted to propose, was a decided and unequivocal testimony of his intentions. It obliged the diocesan to renounce all such "clauses, words, sentences, and grants," which he might have from the Pope concerning the bishopric that he held, which might in any way be prejudicial to the king, "his heirs, successors, dig-

nity, &c." A solemn oath of allegiance followed this renunciation, and an acknowledgment that the bishop held his preferment of the king only; to which was added a supplication for a restitution of the temporalities of the same.* This decisive measure on the part of the king met of course with violent opposition, especially among the prelates; and it was not without some qualification in the terms of the entire submission to regal authority which was now proposed, that the upper house of convocation could be induced to accede to the demands of the king.†

1532. Two days after the dissolution of parliament, which took place on the 14th of May, Sir Thomas More, who had accepted and retained the office of chancellor with reluctance, resigned the seals, which were immediately bestowed on Sir Thomas Audley. More had performed the duties of this arduous and eminent station for two years; and as he had apparently enjoyed the confidence of the king without any interruption, various reasons were assigned for his resignation, the world being naturally astonished, that a man, whom fortune seemed to court, could thus relinquish one of her choicest gifts. Not only had Henry appeared to set a greater value on the opinions of More respecting public affairs, than

* *Burnet Hist. Ref.* vol. i. p. 227. † *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 68.

on that of any other of his council since the deprivation of Wolsey's advice, but he had evinced towards him much of that personal affection and intimacy with which he had distinguished his predecessor; and which might have afforded to any person disposed to avail himself of the opportunity, the means of acquiring an influence over Henry almost as powerful as that which Wolsey had been supposed to possess. Frequently, upon holidays, says the anonymous biographer of Sir Thomas More, would the king send for him to discuss matters of state, or to converse upon geometry, divinity, or astronomy; and, when they were engaged in this last pursuit, Henry, leading his philosophical favourite to the leads of his palace, would glean what More could impart respecting the heavenly bodies. So much did both Queen Katharine and Henry delight too in the jocular strain of conversation in which More indulged a humorous vein, that at supper-time he was often invited to enliven a repast, which the pensive disposition of the queen, and her situation with respect to her husband, would probably have rendered gloomy. But Sir Thomas, who, although at this time united to a shrew, in his third wife, was a domestic man, and especially interested in the society and improvement of his children, found it convenient to evade these marks of favour,

which frequently kept him in attendance at the court for a longer period than he desired, the habits of a court being little congenial to his simple habits and tastes. He sought therefore to dissemble the amusing talents in which the royal pair found such attractions. But in the retirement of Chelsea, then a detached and pleasant village, where More usually resided, the king would seek him, and surprize him, even before he was Lord Chancellor, with an unexpected visit at dinner, after which Henry would walk, with his arm around the neck of Sir Thomas, in the agreeable garden, conversing on subjects of general interest; proofs of esteem and favour, which were creditable to Henry's discrimination and taste, and which were received by More with a degree of modesty which was highly honourable to him. On one important point, however, More never could be induced completely to concur with the king. He had entertained, from the commencement of the business, such doubts respecting the divorce as would for ever deter so conscientious a person from lending his approbation to that measure. Henry, who justly valued an opinion which was not to be purchased by the hope of rewards and preferment, more than that of persons whose motives were equivocal, pressed Sir Thomas again and again, without effect, to declare his sen-

timents upon the point in question: but Sir Thomas, falling on his knees, entreated Henry to excuse him, and reminded his master that he had enjoined him, on entering into the service of royalty, "first to attend to the honour of God, and then to that of his sovereign." Nor could Henry obtain any other concession from More than a promise to read all that had been written in favour of his wishes; and to abstain from the perusal of such books as favoured the cause of the queen. It was this inability to accede to the desires of the king, and to satisfy his own conscience at the same time, that the public now assigned as the cause of More's resignation of the seals; he was doubtless startled by the rapid strides by which Henry was advancing his own supremacy, and which More, as a devoted adherent to the papal authority, could not approve. Attached to literary pursuits, and to the society of men, who like himself, loved the retirement which is requisite for study, More wisely resolved to take refuge in time from the storms with which all that he held sacred was threatened, and to screen himself and his family from the dangers attendant on a public station, where conscience and interest are at variance.

That More already foresaw the annihilation of the papal power in England, is obvious from

a remarkable conversation between him and his biographer and son-in-law, Roper. That individual, who had married the beloved daughter of Sir Thomas, the celebrated Margaret Roper, had been formerly attracted by the doctrines of Luther, from which he had, however, been converted by the arguments and example of More. Like most new proselytes, Roper was almost as zealous to the cause he had last adopted as the most violent among the Papists: this, the dialogue which he has detailed, as occurring between himself and his father-in-law, sufficiently evinces. "It fortuned," says Roper, "before the matter of the said matrimony was brought in question, when I, in talk with Sir Thomas More (of a certain joy), commended unto him the happy estate of this realm, that had so catholic a prince that no heretic durst show his face; so learned a clergy, so grave and sound a nobility, and so loving obedient subjects all in one faith agreeing together." "Troth it is indeed, son Roper," quoth he, and went far beyond me in commending all degrees and estates of the same, "and yet, son Roper, I pray God," said he, "that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains treading heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day that we would gladly wish to be at league and composition with them, to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that

they would be contented to let us have ours quietly to ourselves." How completely and exactly this prediction has been verified, the history of succeeding times and of the present period will amply manifest.

During the period of his chancellorship, this disinterested man had made no provision for his resignation; he did not even promote the elevation of his friends or relatives. "When Cardinal Wolsey was chancellor," said one of More's sons-in-law to him in jest, "many got well by him; even his yeomen, door-keepers, and porters had their gain; and since I have married one of your daughters, I might, in good reason, look for something from you." Yet it seems, in spite of this remonstrance, that Sir Thomas not only sought no advantage for his family, but even, in one case, made a decree against one of his sons-in-law, who, he conceived, relying upon his favour as chancellor, had brought an unjust cause into his court. As a chancellor, More, in that respect following the example of Wolsey, decided rather from the equity of a case than from the strict letter of the law, and on this account, the injunctions that issued were sometimes disapproved by the judges, whom he found means, however, by fair and incontrovertible arguments, to satisfy as to the propriety of his determinations. His strict attention to

justice, his indifference to motives of private interest or favour, and his diligence in the duties of this arduous office, have entitled More to the commendation of having been one of the most conscientious chancellors that ever sat upon the woolsack.

It must have afforded to the beholders a singular but interesting picture of filial reverence and affection to have witnessed More, in passing through Westminster-Hall on his way to the court of chancery, stop short if he observed his father in his place among the judges of the King's Bench, and kneeling with humility, ask a blessing from this venerable and happy parent.* So exemplary a son could scarcely fail to be fortunate in the disposition and principles of his own children, and in this respect, More was indeed eminently happy. It is true that the birth of three daughters had, for some years during his first marriage, proved a source of disappointment to his wife, who was at last blessed with a son, the object of her earnest wishes; but the child appearing at first little better than an idiot, More it is said told his lady, that since

* This scene was not, however, in those days so singular as at present, the custom of asking and receiving blessings being then prevalent. Even the king could not with decency leave the kingdom without demanding a blessing from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

" she had prayed so long for a boy, that she had now one who would be a boy as long as he lived." The youth, however, by diligent and judicious training, became afterwards a promising young man, and was honoured with the regard and commendations of Erasmus, who dedicated to him his account of the works of Aristotle.

Of the three daughters of More, the eldest, Margaret his favourite, the most resembled him in mind and character. Of masculine sense and acquirements, combined with feminine gentleness and virtue, Margaret Roper may be considered as great an honour to the female sex as any woman in a private sphere has ever proved. Instructed by the directions of her father in all the liberal sciences, a perfect mistress of the Greek and Latin tongues, an accomplished musician, and above all a woman whose high sense of rectitude and strong understanding enabled her to give " good counsel," a very rare excellence in woman, Mrs. Roper had the singular merit of possessing these uncommon qualities as though she had them not, so meek and gentle was she to her servants, so unassuming to her friends and relatives, so submissive as a wife, so pious as a daughter. To her children we are told, "she was a double mother, as not only to bring them forth to the world, but also to bring them to Heavenward, by instructing them in learning and in

virtue."* Erasmus, whose judgment of the fair sex appears to have been often favourable, and always discriminative, calls her the "flower of all the learned matrons of England." Her sisters, like herself, carefully educated, and proficients in classical learning, although inferior to her, were not unworthy of the parent from whom they derived their origin. Erasmus, who visited the house of Sir Thomas at Chelsea, calls the family a "little house of the muses, and another academy "of Plato; only," he says, "he does it wrong by "the comparison, since, in Plato's academy they "disputed about numbers and geometry, and but "sometimes of moral virtues, whereas this house "was more properly a school and exercise of the "christian religion. There was neither man nor "woman who was not employed in liberal disci-"plines and fruitful reading, although the prin-"cipal study was religion. There was no quar-"relling, not so much as a peevish word was "to be heard, nor was any one seen idle. All "were in their several employs, they all ap-"peared cheerful, nor was there wanting sober "mirth. And so well managed a government "Sir Thomas did not maintaine by severity and "chiding, but by gentleness and kindness."†

For such a family, it was no little temptation to

* *Life of More. Wordsworth*, vol. ii. p. 142.

† Appendix to *Roper's Life of More*, p. 173.

desire that wealth which they knew so well how to employ, and which could place them in a situation in which their light might shine with more efficacy than in a private and humble station. But More was superior to these alluring but fallacious considerations; simple in his habits, and moderate in his views, it was the constant endeavour of this great man to restrain the ambition, and to correct the worldly vanities which insinuated themselves even into the hallowed precincts of his own pure dwelling.

Indifferent to the elevation of those connected with him, because he saw the worthlessness and the dangers of worldly honours, More had taken little pains to increase his patrimonial property. Although he was not addicted to extravagance, yet he had not been able, with a numerous family, to make any addition, by his savings when chancellor, to an income of fifty pounds a year, all that he possessed upon the resignation of his office, except a gift from the king. When More found it probable that his petition to be released from his office would be granted, he made such preparations for the reduction of his household as were essential to a poor man; placing all his gentlemen and yeomen with different bishops and nobles his friends, and sending away even his fool, the famous Henry Pattison, to his former home.

Yet so scrupulous was More in a literal observance of the precepts of christianity, that part of the money which he derived from the sale of some land was divided by him equally among the poor and his children. The mode which More adopted of announcing to his family the change in his means, and consequently in his plan of life, affords a specimen of his usual jocularity, and of his indifference to worldly advantages and luxuries. "We will not," says he, (alluding to the scanty and hard fare of the universities of that period,) "descend at once to Oxford fare, nor to the fare of New Inn, but we will begin with Lincoln's Inn diet, where many right worshipful of good years do live well; which, if we do find ourselves not able to maintain, then will we the next year step one foot lower, to New Inn fare, with which many an honest man is contented; if that also exceed our ability, then we must the next year fall to Oxford fare, where many grave and ancient fathers be continually conversant, which, if our power stretch not to maintain, then may we, like poor scholars of Oxford, go a begging, with our bags and wallets, and sing *salve regina* at rich men's doors, where for pity some good folks will give us their merciful charity; and so keep company and be merry together." It is not surprising that a man with dispositions so humble,

with a mind so elevated, and with passions so subdued, should prefer the quiet of domestic life to the turmoils of a court. And well had he chosen in withdrawing from a service so replete with danger and temptation as that of Henry the Eighth.

More had been long suspected of a secret aversion to Anne Bullen, a circumstance
1532. by no means improbable, considering his enmity towards the Protestants, whom Anne generally favoured. The removal of a counsellor, adverse to the king's wishes, seems to have hastened the proceedings of Henry in the elevation of the object of his affection; and as a preparatory step, she was created, on the 1st of September, at Windsor, Marchioness of Pembroke; and an estate worth a thousand pounds yearly conferred upon her, in order to support the title. This honour was the more essential, as Henry now meditated an interview with the French king, in whose presence he might naturally desire that his future queen should appear invested with some portion of the rank and splendour with which she was destined soon to be invested. This interview had been arranged at the desire of Henry, who, being aware that all the influence which the emperor possessed, would militate against him at the court of Rome, had hoped to secure the

French king, at least, in his favour. It appears from the letters of Du Bellay, who still remained at the English court, that some embarrassment arose from the desire of the king to introduce Anne to the French king upon this occasion. Henry wrote, therefore, to Francis, intimating his wishes, and hinting that Francis might be accompanied on his part by the Queen of Navarre, but expressly telling the French monarch not to distress him with the sight of his royal consort, the sister of the emperor. In the words of Du Bellay — "*Il hait cet habillement à l'Espaignolle, tant qu'il luy semble veoir un diable.*" Francis was not, however, accompanied by any female of distinction, and Anne Bullen shone alone, the most conspicuous ornament of the joyous occasion.

Early in October, the king set sail from Dover, and reached the opposite coast of France after a voyage of seven hours. At Calais Henry remained some days, engaged in viewing the fortifications which had been recently erected there; and, on being apprized that Francis had arrived at a village near to the English pale, he proceeded to the place of meeting, near Boulogne, attended by most of the principal nobility of England, among whom was the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.

The first interview between the two kings was

passed in mutual compliments, after which, with the true spirit of the times, they commenced casting hawks, and derived considerable amusement from the sagacity of a peculiar breed of those birds, called sakers. In a valley between Boulogne and Sadyngfeld, the two kings, followed by a train composed of the united retinues of the English and French monarchs, were joined by the king of Navarre, at whose approach they all alighted, and refreshed themselves with a collation, but soon resumed their pastime, and casting their hawks as they journeyed onwards, they approached Boulogne; here they beheld, ranged on a hill, a goodly band, of which the principal personages were the three sons of Francis, among whom was Henry, afterwards King of France, the godson of Henry the Eighth. Henry received these youths with the tender expressions of a parent, and their father addressed them in these words; "My sons, I am your father, but to this prince here you are as much indebted as to me, for he redeemed you from captivity; wherefore, on my blessing, I charge you always to be loving towards him."* Yet, at this very time, Francis was engaged in secret negociation with Clement the Seventh, the grand enemy of the English monarch, concerning the marriage of the Duke of Orleans

* *Hall*, p. 791.

with Catherine de Medici, niece to the pontiff.* Notwithstanding this secret treaty, the interview between Henry and Francis passed with the greatest appearance of friendship and unanimity on both sides.

Henry was lodged in the abbey of Boulogne, directly opposite to the abode of the French king, in apartments furnished in a style of splendour and elegance which only French taste could have devised. The principal chamber was hung with green velvet, embroidered with vine leaves of gold, and fretted with silver, and in the middle of each compartment of the room was embroidered a fable of Ovid's Metamorphoses. The English nobles and their trains were all appointed to their several lodgings, and as Boulogne was within the French territory, all the English there were considered as the guests of the liberal and hospitable Francis. "No man," observes Hall, "durst take any money, for the French king payed for all."

Another instance of foreign compliment deserves to be recorded, exemplifying the brotherly intimacy which apparently subsisted between Henry and his ally. Francis caused two garments to be made, both of white velvet, richly adorned with damask gold, and presented them to the King of England, begging him to chuse

* *Rapin*, 8vo. vol. vi. p. 353.

one, and to wear it for his sake; a request with which Henry complied: the two kings appeared, therefore, on one occasion, both attired in the same suit. Still further to manifest his respect for the English nation, Francis called a chapter of the order of St. Michael, of which Henry was a member, and elected two new knights, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Soon after this ceremony, Henry, Francis, and the King of Navarre, with their respective attendants and followers, returned to Calais, and Henry was joined on his way thither by his son, the Duke of Richmond, who was at this time concluding his continental travels. At Calais, Francis was treated as the visitor of the English king, whose hospitality was not inferior to that of his ally; and here Henry regaled Francis and his nobility with a sumptuous supper. The cupboard, in the banquetting chamber, was of seven stages, a mark of peculiar splendour, as no person, except a king, was allowed, by the rules of etiquette, to extend his display of plate to more than four stages. After supper a masque was introduced, in which the Marchioness of Pembroke danced with the King of France, and every lady took a lord. While this amusement went on, Henry, desirous probably of shewing his fair mistress to Francis, snatched away the

visors which the ladies wore, so that their beauty was displayed; and, when the dancing was finished, the French king conversed during some time with Anne Bullen, and sent her on the following day a valuable present. With all these festive meetings were intermingled grave and long disquisitions on religious affairs, between the two monarchs; and, in these, Francis even exceeded Henry in complaints against the exactions of the Pope.

After an affectionate farewell between Henry and Francis, the former, though impeded by contrary winds, arrived in safety at Dover, November 14th, where, soon afterwards, he was privately married to Anne Bullen.* The exact date of this event is uncertain: Hall, whose accuracy in dates is undisputed, affixes it to St. Erkenwald's day, the 14th of November, 1532†; Stow, to the feast of St. Paul, on the 25th of January, 1533. The truth appears to have been, that the ceremony was performed with so much secrecy, that it was only from conjecture that any specific date was subsequently assigned; nor would the point appear of much importance, had not the uncertainty attached to it afforded an opportunity of casting an unjustifiable stigma

* *Hall*, p. 794.

† *Hall*, p. 794. *Holinshed*, p. 777. *Stow*, p. 543.

on the character of Anne Bullen.* There are, however, strong presumptive reasons for supposing, that the marriage was not solemnized until the 25th of January. The most decisive evidence on the point is that given by Cranmer, who, in a letter to Hawkins, ambassador at the Imperial court, mentions, that the ceremony was performed somewhere about St. Paul's day, and that he was informed of it a fortnight afterwards†; and Cranmer, not only from his favour with the king, but from his intimacy with the family of Anne Bullen, is likely to have been rightly informed upon the subject. Various accounts have been given of the persons who were present at this ceremony, and of the place and manner in which it was concluded. The divine selected to perform the service was Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, who was soon afterwards rewarded with the bishopric of Chester, and was translated to Litchfield, having formerly held the office of chancellor to the bishop of that diocese.‡ At an early hour, according to an old manuscript account of the divorce presented to Queen Mary, Lee was commanded to repair to a garret at the western extremity of Whitehall Palace, and in

* *Lingard's History of England*, vol. vi. p. 251.

† *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 121.

‡ *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Fasti.* vol. i. p. 38.

that obscure apartment he secured the bond which afterwards proved so fatal to two of the parties present; Henry Norris and Heneage, grooms of the chamber, and Anne Savage, train-bearer to Anne Bullen and afterwards Lady Berkley, being the only witnesses to the deed.* By another statement we are informed that the union was not enveloped with so much mystery; that Cranmer performed the ceremony, and that the Duke of Norfolk, and the parents and immediate relatives of Anne Bullen, were also present on the occasion.† But Cranmer, in the letter before mentioned, and addressed to Hawkins, denies that part of the assertion which relates to himself, and expressly affirms, that "he knew not of it until a fortnight afterwards."‡ That Lee was the divine employed in the business, is proved by the irrefragable testimony of several writers.

The marriage was not avowed until the ensuing Easter, when Anne's appearance denoting plainly the probability of her becoming a mother, a royal household was appointed for her, and she went to her chamber with all the ceremonies usual with queens on such occasions.§ Before the publication of his second marriage, Henry,

* *Lingard*, vol. vi. p. 250. † *Herbert*, p. 368.
‡ *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 191.; also *Arch.* vol. xviii. p. 81.
§ *Hall*, p. 795.

however, thought it becoming to use his last, but fruitless endeavours to reconcile Katharine to the divorce, and to persuade her to be content with the title and jointure of Princess of Wales. But the inflexible queen remaining firm to her first resolution, it was now resolved to declare her marriage null and void. The form of this proceeding was arranged by Cranmer, who, in a letter addressed to the king, declared, that his marriage with Queen Katharine was censured both at home and abroad; that it excited just apprehensions concerning the succession, and on that account petitioned the king to give him authority to pronounce judgment in this matter. Upon this, Cranmer being empowered to call a court, cited the king and queen to appear before him at Dunstable, which was the place assigned for this commission, from its vicinity to Ampthill, where Katharine then resided. The king appeared by proxy, but Katharine, after being three times summoned, neither appearing nor sending a proxy, was declared contumacious, and the form of trial proceeded. Witnesses concerning the consummation of the former marriage of Katharine with Prince Arthur were examined, the opinions of the universities, of divines and canonists against the divorce, were read, and the marriage between the king and the lady

May 10, 1533.

Katharine was finally pronounced null and void, and the parties declared at liberty to engage themselves elsewhere. Soon afterwards Cranmer returning to London, confirmed the marriage between the king and Anne Bullen.*

These proceedings excited censure or obtained approbation, according to the religious
May 23. opinions of those who discussed them, the divorce being wholly a party question. The zealous adherents of the court of Rome regarded Katharine as a persecuted and oppressed individual, and considered the king's innovations on church authority as bordering on heresy; while those whose theological opinions had received a tincture from the new doctrines, pronounced the divorce to be a necessary relief to the king's conscience, and the only means of ensuring a peaceable succession to the throne. But one individual remained whom no entreaties could soften, no threats could bend to acknowledge even a shadow of justice to have appeared in this proceeding. Katharine, firm and proud, as her nation is generally reported to be, on receiving the intelligence of the king's marriage, evinced a determination of soul which seemed to be strengthened by despair. The person deputed to treat with Katharine was the Lord Mountjoy, the pupil and patron of Erasmus, and

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 237.

formerly page of honour to the king.* He was commanded to mingle promises with intimidation, and to allure her to own the legality of the king's marriage, by the assurance that the Princess Mary should be placed next in succession to the new queen's issue; but Katharine declared that she would never demean herself to receive any other title than that of queen; that she would not damn her own soul, nor submit to such an infamy; that she would persist in her appeal to Rome, by which alone would she consent to be regulated; and when Lord Mountjoy, having written an account of the conversation which passed between him and herself, shewed the writing to her, she blotted out the appellation of Princess Dowager wherever it occurred. To the day of her death, indeed, she continued to exact and to receive from those around her, her honours as queen, without which she would allow no one to approach her; nor could Henry, although he condescended to employ threats and violence to some of her attendants, prevent her from keeping up the show of royalty, which appeared to be the only consolation to her afflicted but not subdued spirit.

After the publication of the king's new marriage, it was thought proper to acquaint the Princess Mary with the change in her rank and

* *Butler's Erasmus*, p. 56.

condition, to enjoin her to lay aside the title of princess, and to command her servants to abstain from addressing her in that style. These orders were conveyed to her at Beaulieu, where she then resided, by one Huse, a private messenger of the king; and, being communicated without any commission from her father, were resisted by the young princess; and she remained obstinate in her determination not to own the illegitimacy of her birth, during a period of three years. Yet it does not appear, that Mary was incited to this determined resistance, so uncommon in one of her tender age, by her mother, from whom she was separated soon after the sentence of divorce had been pronounced by Cranmer. In a letter written by Katharine to her, after their common calamity, the queen exhorts her to obey the king her father in every thing, save only that "she must not offend God, and lose her own soul;" she entreats her "to go no further with learning and disputation unto the matter; and in whatsoever company she should come, to obey the king's commandments, to speak few words, and meddle nothing." The letter from which these injunctions are taken, affords a curious and pleasing picture of the mind and disposition of Katharine. Her exhortations to piety, and to purity of thought and conversation, are written with genuine earnest-

ness, but are mingled indiscriminately with advice to the princess "to keep her keys herself, to take her lute or virginals for recreation, and not to think about any husband, for Christ's passion." In conclusion, this estimable and unfortunate queen desires to be recommended to her "good lady of Salisbury, and to pray her to have a good heart, for we never come," continues the pious Katharine, "to the kingdom of heaven, but by troubles." The tenour of the letter is evidently influenced by the expectation of a reconciliation between Mary and her father. To the hope of one day securing the re-establishment of her daughter in the succession, the resistance of Katharine may doubtless be attributed; maternal affections, even under the severest personal trials, being ever stronger than selfish considerations.

The proceedings of Henry with regard to his marriage naturally incensed the Pope and emperor against him; and the breach between England and the see of Rome was widened by a statute, passed in parliament, condemning appeals to Rome, and assigning all such causes as had, hitherto, been usually referred to that quarter, to be settled by the king's jurisdiction. The death of Warham, an event which had occurred during the month of August in the preceding year, was also one of those

casualties which sometimes favour important events, since it opened the way for the promotion of Cranmer to the primacy. Warham was not, indeed, so much devoted to the contracted notions propagated by the schools, as many of the clergy; but he was a bigotted churchman, easily imposed on where his superstitious feelings were called into play, and a vigorous persecutor of all innovators in religious concerns. Although he had conformed to the wishes of the king, and had even promoted them in convocation, yet six months before his death, he made a protest in the presence of three notaries, at Lambeth, to this effect: "That whatever statutes had passed or were to pass in this present parliament, to the prejudice of the Pope, or to the derogation of the Pope, or to the diminution of the authority or liberties of the see of Canterbury, he did disown and dissent from them."* Such were the mental reservations which even the prelates of the church deemed it expedient to employ at this critical period, in order to secure their safety, and, at the same time, to satisfy their consciences.

The acquiescence of Cranmer in the king's views regarding the divorce was not more universally known than his tolerant, if not favourable sentiments towards the new opinions. The

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 138.

death-bed of Warham was disturbed by apprehensions for the safety of the church; he foresaw that Cranmer would be nominated his successor, and that with his advice Henry would proceed even to greater lengths than those which his subjects had already witnessed; calling his nephew to him, therefore, the archbishop desired the youth never "to serve or obey the Thomas who should succeed him, and who would by his wicked heresies injure the church more than it had ever been benefited by the blessed St. Thomas."* Cranmer had dreaded the consequence of his own elevation to the see of Canterbury, almost as much as Warham had before him. Notwithstanding the opportunities of serving the reformers which he might naturally anticipate to arise from his preferment, Cranmer trembled at the difficulties of so eminent a station in times of so eventful a character, and sought to evade the distinction which awaited him, by prolonging his travels on the continent, where he had received the intelligence of the king's intentions. But Henry, previous to the sentence passed by Cranmer

* Archbishop Warham was a benefactor to Oxford, of which university he was chancellor; he assisted in the building of St. Mary's Church; he left his theological books to All Souls' library, his civil and canon law books, and prick-song books belonging to his chapel, to New College. *Wood*, vol. i. p. 668.

upon the first marriage of the king, had compelled him to accept the office of primate, without which the sentence could not have possessed even a shadow of authority. The conduct of Cranmer, in taking the customary oath of allegiance to the Pope, has been severely and justly censured; and although his scruples were satisfied by a protest, entered before the oath, and condemning every clause in it, "inconsistent with his duty to God, the king, and his country," yet even the most ardent admirer of the virtues and religious tenets of this good but erring man, must view this passage of his life with regret for the temptation, and sorrow for the weakness which could not withstand the trial.

The sentence passed by Cranmer on the divorce, was announced at all the courts of Europe, and was received with concealed displeasure by the three principal potentates. The emperor listened with indifference to the king's justification, and intimated that a war was probable, by the reply, that he would consider what was to be done upon it. Francis had already formed a close alliance with the Pope, and had determined upon an interview with him at Marseilles; but as he did not wish to break entirely with the King of England, he promised to use his endeavours to prevent Clement from issuing any censures and bulls against

Henry, and to conciliate matters if possible. At Rome, the pope wavered between the differing councils of his cardinals, but finally referred the affairs to the consistory, not, however, without a private assurance to Francis, that if Henry should return to his former obedience, and refer the decision of his sentence to the Pope, it might be settled to his satisfaction. This intimation, which shews the alarm which now possessed Clement concerning the establishment of the regal supremacy in England, did not deter Henry from sending Bonner to the Pope, then at Marseilles, with the instrument containing the king's appeal from the authority of Clement to that of the next general conncil.

This appeal of Henry's was followed by a similar one from Cranmer, who was informed of a process against him, on account of his protest, in the consistory. Dr. Bonner, who hoped by this behaviour to heighten his favour with Henry, delivered these proofs of the king's independence with so much violence of manner, that the Pope terrified him into making his escape from Marseilles, by hinting that he might be melted in a cauldron of boiling lead or burned at the stake. Shortly afterwards sentence was pronounced in the consistory in favour of the king's marriage with Katharine, and threats of excom-

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munication held out in case of Henry's refusal to receive her again as his wife. This decree, which was obtained chiefly through the intrigue of the imperial faction, was issued by the consistory only a few days previous to the reception of a submission from Henry, who was induced to adopt that proceeding by an assurance from Francis that it would be available. It was, therefore, with sentiments both of anger and of mortified pride, that Henry learned the decree which had been pronounced against him, and which, though brought back into the consistory, had not been recalled. He now resolved to break off all show of allegiance to a power, the greatest defect of which, in his eyes, was its opposition to his own interests.

CHAP. VI.

Coronation of Queen Anne. — Death of Mary of France. — Birth of Queen Elizabeth. — Treatise published by Henry. — Proceedings of Convocation. — Resistance of Bishop Fisher. — Parliament establishes the King's supremacy. — Act and oath of succession. — Bishops of Salisbury and Worcester deprived of their benefices. — The oath of succession exacted. — Resistance of Sir Thomas More and of Fisher. — Bishop of Rochester sent to the Tower. — Causes of the King's displeasure towards Sir Thomas More. — Act of Parliament referring the regulation of all religious matters to the King. — Death of Firth: of Tindall. — Imprisonment of Sir Thomas More: his condemnation. — Fisher's hard fate. — State of parties at court with respect to the Lutherans. — Death of Queen Katharine. — Jane Seymour. — Tilting match at Greenwich. — Apprehension of Anne Bullen's supposed paramours: her committal to the Tower. — Cranmer's letter to the King. — Trial of Smeton and the others: Anne Bullen addresses a letter to the King: she is tried with Lord Rochford: her sentence. — Lord Rochford executed. — Marriage between the King and Anne Bullen dissolved: her conduct after her trial: her execution. — Sir Thomas Wyatt: his supposed attachment to Anne Bullen.

THE intricate and perplexing business in which Henry was engaged had not produced,
1533. in the disposition of the gay monarch, such an alteration as to destroy his love

for those festivities and amusements by which the early part of his reign had been enlivened. So great, indeed, was the importance which Henry attached to the pomp and pageantry of his court, that, when we peruse the chronicles of his reign, it seems as if parade and amusement had been the real business of his life; and we are apt to forget, in the hero of almost childish revels, the promoter of the Reformation, the powerful ruler who acted a most important part in the affairs of Europe, and the tyrant who marred the happiness of his people, while he conferred upon them the greatest of benefits.

The coronation of Queen Anne was now determined on; and, by the splendour of its arrangements, the king no doubt intended at once to evince his contempt of the inveterate objections on the part of Clement to the marriage, and to display his fondness for a bride to whom he had remained faithful during six long years of courtship.

Early in May, the king caused proclamations to be issued, commanding all those persons who possessed the right of hereditary services to put in their claims before the Duke of Suffolk, high steward of England for the time, the lord chancellor and other commissioners. The Duke of Norfolk claimed to bear the staff of gold, and

to exercise his office as earl marshal. This title had been conferred on his father, the Duke, and his heirs, by Henry the Eighth. It had been, during some generations, held by the house of Howard, although it was first conferred by Richard the Second on Mowbray Earl of Nottingham, one of whose female descendants married into the Howard family. The other usual offices were filled according to hereditary right; but many claims were rejected, as not allowable at the coronation of a queen.

A few days previous to the ceremony, the queen was brought with great state from Greenwich to the Tower by water; the mayor and aldermen of London having the charge of conveying her thither in their barges. The boat in which the queen was seated, was preceded by a wafter, full of ordnance, in which was a dragon casting wildfire around him; and about the dragon stood wild men casting fireworks: then followed the barges of the mayor and of the different companies, the awnings of which were of cloth of gold, in some instances hung with innumerable little bells, which danced in the wind. On one side of the mayor's barge was another wafter, on which was a mount, on the summit whereof stood a white falcon, crowned, standing upon a pedestal of gold, encircled with white and

May 19, 1533.

red roses; and around the mount, were virgins, singing and playing sweetly. This was the device of Anne, who soon appeared in her own barge, attended by her father, by the Marquis of Dorset, the Earl of Arundel, and many other noblemen; and followed by most of the bishops, each in his barge. But the spectacle which most delighted the gay young queen, was the batchelors' barge *, which sailed alongside of her own, containing trumpets and other melodious instruments, and richly decorated flags and escutcheons. This splendid band passed in this array to the postern of the Tower, leading down to the Thames, where the king received the queen with "loving countenance and kyssed her;" and after she had thanked the mayor and citizens "with many goodly words" for their courtesy, led her into the Tower; little foreseeing, flattered and beloved as she then was, that she should one day enter that edifice as a criminal, the object of disgust and of contempt to her capricious consort.

On the ensuing day, the king created a number of noblemen and of commoners knights of the Bath. The knights elect served the king

* Knights bachelors, or simple knights, or knights of the spur; so called in distinction to the knights banneret, knights of the garter, or of the bath. *Selden's Titles of Honour*, p. 770. chap. v.

at dinner; and, after that ceremony, in compliance with an old custom, they were taken to their chambers, and bathed and shriven.* The next morning the queen was carried through the city in a litter, open at the top, in order that the innumerable crowds assembled might see the fair object of their sovereign's affections. The carriage was drawn by two white palfreys, covered with cloth of gold, and led by footmen; while over the head of the queen was borne a canopy, adorned with "silver bells," and supported alternately by sixteen knights. The beautiful Anne was attired in a circote of white tissue, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine; her hair hung down in tresses; and her head was bound with a rich circlet set with precious stones. The litter was followed by the queen's chamberlain; and by her master of the horse, leading a spare horse with a side-saddle: then came chariots, "all redde," as Hall describes them, "with ladies in crimsone velvet, and with ladies in white velvet," among whom was the old Duchess of Norfolk, the grandmother of the queen, and the old Marchioness of Dorset. These venerable and exalted personages, in whose veins flowed so much illustrious blood, were succeeded

* For an account of similar ceremonies, see *Mills's Hist. of Chivalry.*

by thirty gentlewomen, all in the livery of those peeresses on whom they attended. Lastly followed the guard in dresses of great costliness, the fashion of which is retained to the present day in the uniform of the band of that regiment. The procession moved onwards to Fenchurch Street, where the queen was greeted by a pageant, in which children, attired as merchants, addressed her in French and in English. In Gracechurch Street, the merchants of the Stilliard had erected, in honour of the occasion, a miniature of Mount Parnassus, with a fountain of Helicon, from which flowed an acceptable stream of Rhenish wine. At Leadenhall, a pageant was prepared, in which appeared Saint Anne and all her issue: and at Cornhill, the three Graces each presented the blooming queen with a gift of grace, partaking of their several properties. Every conduit was newly embellished in honour of the coronation; the children of Saint Paul's sang verses in praise of Queen Anne; the city presented her with a purse containing a thousand marks of gold; and new pageants encountered her at every turn, till she arrived at Westminster Hall, where a service of spices, with hypocras and other wines, terminated a day, doubtless, of fatigue as well as of triumph to the queen.

The ceremony of this coronation was attended with circumstances of peculiar splendour; and,

to those who could forget the deserted and unhappy Katharine, it must have been a scene of exhilaration and of gaiety scarcely to be paralleled, even during this reign of lavish munificence. On Whitsunday, Anne went in state to Westminster Hall, where she was met by the mayor and aldermen, who were soon joined by the monks of Westminster in rich copes, by the king's chaplains, and by many of the bishops and clergy; an assemblage of ecclesiastical grandeur which gave an imposing character to the spectacle, not to be equalled in modern processions, however costly and dignified. The royal train then moved, in solemn state, from the centre of Westminster Hall, to the high altar in the abbey, in the usual order; beginning, as is customary on such occasions, with those of the lowest, and ending with those of the highest rank. After the gentlemen, squires, knights, and nobles, came the lord chancellor, in his *lettise*-bordered robe; and the lower orders of the clergy of the king's chapel, chaunting as they slowly moved along. To these succeeded the archbishops, bishops, and abbots in their mitres; the serjeants and officers at arms, and the Mayor of London; the Marquis of Dorset bearing the sceptre, the Earl of Arundel the rod of ivory and the dove, these being the regalia allotted

to a queen* ; the Earl of Oxford, chamberlain for the day, sustained the crown ; the Duke of Norfolk was constituted lord high steward of England for the occasion, and Lord William Howard bore the rod of marshal. And now appeared the lovely queen, attired in a circote of purple velvet, furred with ermine, under a canopy which was held over her head by the five barons of the Cinque Ports. The bishops of London and of Winchester held up the lappets of her robe, and the old Dutchess of Norfolk bore her train. It were tedious to relate the various points of difference between the ensigns of their respective dignities allotted to the ladies who closed the procession, and whose rank was chiefly distinguished by the lesser or larger *powderings* of their robes with ermine.

The ceremonies of the coronation were duly performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the crown of St. Edward was placed on the head of Queen Anne ; who was probably attended, according to custom, by the abbot, or by one of the monks of Westminster, whose office it was to instruct her, in a low voice, as to the mode of engaging in the several parts of the solemn service appointed for the day. Each peeress put on her coronet : the dutchesses were allowed to wear that appendage wrought with

* *Strutt's Manners and Customs*, vol. iii. p. 23.

flowers; the marchionesses were entitled to a demy coronal only; the countesses to a plain circlet of gold: these insignia were not removed until night.

While the queen refreshed and rested herself in her withdrawing chamber, all those who claimed to do her service prepared to perform their parts. When every thing was ready, the queen returned to the hall under her canopy, and seated herself under her cloth of state, before the table. On her right hand, stood the widowed Countess of Oxford, and on her left, the Countess of Worcester, "all the dyner season, which dyvers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the queene's face when she list to spet, or do otherwise at her pleasure." At the other end of the table, sat the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, underneath the queen's feet, sat two gentlewomen all dinner-time. Behind the archbishop, stood the Earl of Oxford, chamberlain, with a white staff. Then came in the Duke of Suffolk and the Lord William Howard on horseback, followed by the sewer, and by the knights of the bath, bringing in the first course of twenty-eight dishes, besides subtilties, and dishes made of wax, "very marvellous to behold." In the office of ewerer, the fair and thoughtless queen was served by Thomas Wyatt, her supposed lover, who this day performed the duty in lieu of his father. The banquet had

every luxury and every charm which such entertainments usually possess: the Duke of Suffolk rode about the hall cheering the company, and the kings of arms cried largesse between the courses. Nor was Henry precluded from some enjoyment of the animated scene, which he viewed, in company with the foreign ambassadors, from a small closet, partitioned from the cloister of St. Stephens, at one extremity of the hall. After the queen had washed, and the spices and comfits had been presented, the company all separated, "for it was sixe of the clock," a suitable hour, in the opinion of our ancestors, for the dispersion of a convivial or ceremonial festivity.*

These festivities were soon succeeded by mourning, for, on the 21st of June, Mary, the beautiful and beloved sister of the king, and wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, died at Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk. Of the illness which caused her death no account remains; but, by a letter written by her to Henry, it appears, that she had been long ill, and that she was very desirous to visit London, in order to see her brother, whose "sight," she declares to be the "greatyst comfort to her that may be possible." If the princess actually felt that affection for her brother which her letters express, it is a matter of rejoicing that she was spared, by an early death, from the grief and mortification of

* *Hall.*

witnessing his infuriated conduct during the later years of his reign.

On the 14th or 15th of September, the queen was safely delivered of a girl, a severe disappointment to Henry, who little thought, when lamenting the sex of the newly-born princess, that the infant who caused him this vexation would afterwards, in the person of Queen Elizabeth, raise the glory of this country to a greater height than any which it had attained under his own government; would prosecute his own designs, with respect to the Reformation, with far greater judgment and with more constant zeal than he had ever displayed; and would evince, in her personal character, so much of his own temper and spirit, that no one could doubt her affinity to her royal father. The little princess was christened soon after her birth with great ceremony, the old Dutchess of Norfolk and the Marchioness of Dorset acting as godmothers, and the Archbishop of Canterbury as godfather; and every honour was paid to her as the heir apparent. The royal infant was nursed in the palace of the Bishop of Winchester at Chelsea, and her household arranged as that of the presumptive heir to the crown, when she had attained the early age of three months.

The favour of Henry at the court of Rome was now nearly extinguished; and he put the

finishing blow to his concerns there, by the publication of a treatise condemning the usurpation of the church of Rome. This work was entitled "De Potestate Christianorum Regum in suis Ecclesiis, contra Pontificis Tyrannidem et horribilem Impietatem," and was so much esteemed, even in the milder days of Edward the Sixth, that it was reprinted and translated into English, by Henry Lord Stafford. It irritated the Pope, however, to the last degree; and all ideas of reconciliation appeared now to be at an end.

Throughout the country, in general, a spirit of controversy prevailed, which, although in some instances favourable to the Pope, could not fail to prove, on the whole, extremely detrimental to his cause. Dr. Sampson, a dean of the king's chapel, was one of the first to assert the supremacy of his master in a Latin oration; maintaining, in this composition, that the Pope had no more power, in this country, than the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the other side, the bishops, and most of the clergy, were in favour of the Pope's supremacy; and so great was the zeal of some divines, that they became itinerant preachers in the cause, travelling from county to county, and extolling the Pope in their addresses to the people, while they derogated from the authority of all temporal princes. Among these partizans of papal power, or "papalins," as they are

called by Strype, an old clergyman of Oxford, Hubbardine by name, distinguished himself by his violence and singular deportment. In order to make an impression on the minds of his hearers concerning his indifference to worldly affairs, he "rode about clad in a long gown begrimed with dirt;" and used long prayers and much fasting. His sermons consisted of dialogues and fables, which he would frequently intersperse with gesticulations, and even with hopping, leaping, and dancing in the pulpit, in which excessive exertion he was once so violent that the pulpit gave way; and of this accident he afterwards died, his legs having been broken in the fall.

To such preachers as this man was opposed the eloquence of Hugh Latimer, at this time minister of West Kingston, in Wiltshire, and a frequent preacher in the populous town of Bristol. This divine, the son of a yeoman in Leicestershire, was brought up as a priest; and he had been among the most zealous and furious persecutors of those whom he considered as the propagators of heresies in the early days of his ministry. The persuasions of the martyred Bilney had first awakened Latimer to a sense of the sin of intolerance, and to a conviction that all those tenets which the reformers promulgated were not unreasonable, and

that none were heretical. After his own conversion, Latimer, the torrent of whose zeal was turned, and not dried up, by his improved views of religious subjects, lost no opportunity of gaining over others to the same opinions. By this means he rendered himself extremely obnoxious to his brother clergy; but having had the good fortune to please the king in preaching before him, Latimer pursued his course, not only undaunted, but with additional energy. At this time the reading of the scriptures in the mother tongue, and especially the translation of the Testament by Tindall, were strictly prohibited. Latimer, although his preferment in the church was still uncertain, and he was in danger of displeasing the whole bench of bishops by such a proceeding, wrote a letter to the king, recommending the discontinuance of such a restriction, upon grounds too just to be disputed. This address of Latimer's seems to have produced no effect upon the king, who, as long as he had any point to gain at the court of Rome, thought very little of the Reformation, to which his passions and not his judgment inclined him. The prohibition was repeated, but it could not prevent entirely the introduction of Tindall's works, which being printed abroad, were secretly brought into this country, and were eagerly sought by the people. But the boldness of Latimer had very nearly

endangered his own life. He was cited, in 1526, to appear before Archbishop Warham, and five or six bishops, before whom he was examined three times a week, and was saved by his address only, from falling into the snares employed to effect his ruin. So determined were his enemies to take hold of the most trifling pretext that could be alleged, that the chamber in which they sat was lined with arras, behind which a person sat, ready to write down any heretical expression which might escape from the lips of the prisoner; but Latimer, discovering this contrivance, became the more wary, and was discharged, from the total inability of his persecutors to discover any plausible reasons to authorize his punishment.

When the king's supremacy became the subject of discussion, Latimer joined with the popular side, and generally favoured that measure; and he preached eloquently in its support. This, and the recommendation of Cromwell, and of the king's physician, Butts, procured Latimer the office of chaplain to the king. In this situation he never deviated from the independence and decision of his former character; he inveighed in his sermons against the vices of the court, of the common people, or of the clergy, according to the congregation which he happened to address; and, on one occasion, gave his opinion concern-

ing kings, so plainly, that his enemies hoped, and his friends feared, that he would have been sent to the Tower. But Henry, who discovered, in some instances, a degree of candour which is quite at variance with other points of his character, overlooked the offence.*

Besides this able champion of regal supremacy, the cause was advocated by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in a work entitled, "De vera Obedientia," to which Bonner prefixed a preface. It was also strenuously supported by Stokesley, Bishop of London, and by Tonstall, Bishop of Durham. These authorities were, now, scarcely requisite to give weight to a measure which had become acceptable to the people at large. The jurisdiction which properly appertained to the pope, had been questioned during four years in this country, and had constituted the chief theme of disputation both in parliament and in convocation. The exactions of the court of Rome were so palpable, that discussion was fatal to the foundation upon which they were established. The notion, also, that the mind of the sovereign was seriously bent upon establishing his own supremacy, acted forcibly upon those interested characters, of which a large majority of the community, at all times, is composed.

It was, therefore, determined in convocation,

* *Strype's Memorials*, vol. i. p. 263.

" that the authority of the pope in England had no good foundation, that it had been managed with tyranny, as it had begun with usurpation :" and it was agreed that the Pontiff should henceforth be acknowledged merely Bishop of Rome, with the jurisdiction defined by the ancient canons; and that the king should re-assume his own authority, and the prerogatives of his crown.* To these conclusions the abbots and priors who sat in convocation were ready to comply, for the dissolution of some of their monasteries had made them tremble, and resolve to try what submission could effect for the preservation of the remaining monasteries. The bishops were unanimous, with the exception of the Bishop of Rochester. This learned and conscientious prelate could not be convinced of the propriety of the decision; and, as his mild virtues and his advanced age gained him universal respect, great exertions were used by the king to persuade him into an approval, but without effect. It was not long before this tenacity on the part of Fisher produced the most lamentable consequences.

The proceedings of parliament corresponded with those of the convocation. A bill was introduced for discharging the subjects of the kings of England from all dependance on the court of Rome, and was passed with little opposition.

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 262.

In the preamble to this act, it was announced that the scriptures were now to be the standard of all religious points; a clause which gave sincere satisfaction to the friends of reformation. In order to render this measure still more popular, a bishop was appointed to preach every Sunday at St. Paul's cross, during the session of parliament, to declare to the people that the pope had no authority in England. Thus, with scarcely the shadow of a contest, was this important change effected: discontents were, however, still harboured, which afterwards produced a storm, and which excited the king to deeds of cruelty and injustice, from the opprobrium of which his subsequent actions did not rescue his reputation.

By another act passed in parliament, the offspring of the first marriage of the king was declared illegitimate, and the succession decided in favour of those children who should be born in his second marriage. An oath was imposed on all the king's subjects, obliging them to swear that they would maintain this act; and all who refused to take the same were to be judged guilty of misprision of treason. By a private act, Campeggio and Jeronne de Ghinucci, Bishops of Salisbury and of Worcester, were deprived of their benefices. This measure excited no surprize, as far as regarded the former; but Ghinucci had been the

king's agent at Rome, and had given so much satisfaction in his commission, as to induce the king to solicit for him a cardinal's hat: his deprivation was, therefore, deemed rather rigorous and unjust.

After the rising of parliament, commissioners were sent into every county to require the oath of succession, and they met with a general compliance; but when it was demanded from Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher, they refused to swear to the whole act, objecting to those passages which pronounced against the dispensation, and in favour of Cranmer's decision concerning the divorce. They were, however, willing to take the oath, as far as it concerned the succession merely. In these objections they were not singular, for although fear made the majority of the people compliant, yet it did not make them silent. One Peto, an observant friar, had the hardihood even to preach before the king on the subject, at Greenwich; and taking for his text Elijah's reproof to Nahab, "in the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, the dogs shall lick thy bones, even thine, oh king, is it not so?" drove the argument pointedly to the king's case. Henry, to the surprize of every one, bore this reproof with patience, merely ordering a sermon to be preached

on the following Sunday, refuting the arguments advanced by Peto.

That the same lenity was not extended to More and Fisher is to be ascribed to the following circumstances. Some time back, one Elizabeth Barton was afflicted with fits, during the continuance of which she uttered incoherent, and almost unintelligible exclamations; and exhibited many strange contortions of the body. This infirmity being known to the priest of the parish, Richard Master, it occurred to this man to derive some advantage, by spreading the fame of the diseased person, as a prophetess; and thus to attract pilgrims to a chapel of his own, in which there was an image of the Virgin. With this view, he shewed the girl to Warham, then Archbishop of Canterbury, who desired him to note down what she said in any subsequent trances, and to bring him an account of it. The poor victim of the crafty priest could not even remember the words she had unconsciously spoken; but vanity, and perhaps an impaired understanding, soon led her to believe his assertions, that what she had uttered proceeded from divine inspiration. In this iniquitous business, Master persuaded Bocking, a canon of Christ Church in Canterbury, also to engage; and they taught the maid to declare, that the Blessed Virgin had appeared

to her, and desired her to visit her image in Master's chapel, in order to be cured of her disease. She was also instructed to utter sentences during her fits, purporting that she was inspired by God, and condemning sin, the new doctrines especially, and the king's divorce. In a less critical period, so ridiculous an imposture would have been deemed little worthy of the attention of the higher classes; but it was, evidently, the aim of those who were about this unfortunate person to excite her to such exclamations as might tend to draw away the people from their allegiance, and to uphold the cause of the queen. Henry long disregarded her predictions, although she had foretold, that if he persisted in repudiating Katharine he would die in the course of seven months, and be succeeded by Mary. Of Wolsey, she said that she had in a vision seen the Almighty deliver into his hands three swords, signifying the authority which he exercised as legate, as chancellor, and as minister; and had heard the Supreme Being declare, "that if Wolsey did not employ these swords properly, it should be laid sorely to his charge." It appears, however, that Warham gave some ear to the imposition of Elizabeth Barton, who, after presenting herself at the shrine of the Virgin, became, to all appearance, perfectly well, and professed herself a nun of St. Sepulchre's, in Canterbury.

The Bishop of Rochester, also, hearing of her predictions relative to the queen, sent for her, and was both imprudent and weak enough to hold frequent conferences with the young woman. She drew over, likewise, to a conviction of her inspiration, many friars and nuns, who brought her to repeat her revelations before the ambassadors of the pope, and who sent also a message to Queen Katharine, encouraging her to resistance, in expectation of those great results which Barton had predicted.

The business thus assuming a serious aspect, the king thought it requisite to apprehend the nun, who now bore the appellation of the Holy Maid of Kent, and to bring her, with her accomplices, before the privy council. There, being interrogated, the culprits, without torture, confessed the whole conspiracy; and were sentenced to stand before Paul's cross all the sermon time, on the following Sunday, and to confess the imposture before the assembled multitudes. This mild and judicious mode of treating the matter would probably have been deemed sufficient; but, on the return of the conspirators to the Tower, they were prompted, by messages from others of their party, to deny all that they had avowed. Upon the meeting of parliament, it was deemed expedient, therefore, to attaint the nun, and some of those accessary to her

offence, of treason; while the Bishop of Rochester and others were judged guilty of misprision of treason, in listening to her impostures, and in abetting their promulgation. This harsh conduct towards Fisher, the counsellor of the king's father; the friend of his grandmother, and the revered guide of his earlier years, excites our commiseration for the object of so much ingratitude and injustice, and our indignation towards the author of his fate. But some mitigating circumstances may be alleged for Henry. He was fully aware of the merits of Fisher, and had boasted to Cardinal Pole, before a large company, that he supposed there was not a prince in Europe who possessed a prelate equal to the Bishop of Rochester in virtue and learning.* The king was, therefore, sincerely desirous, in the first instance, to obtain a submission from the bishop, which might serve as an excuse for his pardon; and with that view, Cromwell, recently made secretary of state, sent the brother of Fisher to him in the Tower; and that person, after reproving the bishop for his behaviour in the business, entreated him to acknowledge his offence, and to sue for a pardon, which his sovereign was fully disposed to grant. But Fisher, with the pertinacity of old age, adhered to his opinions respecting the nun, and

* *Phillips's Life of Pole*, vol. i. p. 38.

refused to make any apology; desiring, for the passion of Christ, to be no more troubled about the matter, otherwise he would express himself freely upon the subject concerning it. Notwithstanding this conscientious adherence to erroneous principles, the king, perceiving that there was no malignity towards himself in the correspondence which Fisher had held with the nun, forgave this part of his offence, and forbade the bills to pass which involved the bishop in an attainder.*

The next object of royal displeasure was Sir Thomas More. The virtuous and exalted character of this man was sullied by strong prejudices, and by an intolerance of spirit which ill accords with the religious tenor of his mind. More had, since his resignation of the seals, resided at Chelsea, where he passed, with his family, such days of study and devotion that "you would think," says his biographer, "his house to be like Mary and Martha's, fit to give entertainment to his Creator." In this retirement, Sir Thomas employed himself in writing books of controversy against Tindall, Barnes, and others of the reformers; his Utopia, on which his fame as a writer depends chiefly, having been written when he was in the thirty-third year of his age. It had been well, if the labours

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 283.

of the retired chancellor had been confined to the pen only; but he was no less active in obtaining the condemnation of heretics, than in refuting their arguments; and the death of the learned and conscientious Bilney, and of other martyrs to religious opinion, has been ascribed to his influence. Of late, More had incurred the anger of Henry, not merely for his obstinate adherence to the cause of the queen, but for a correspondence with Elizabeth Barton, by whose impostures he had at first been deceived: but, although the mist of prejudice might at first blind him to the real merits of the nun's case, yet, More was too acute not to detect, and too honest not to acknowledge, that he had discovered her deceptions, although he was, for a short time, if not their dupe, at least not decidedly incredulous as to her inspiration.

Upon further investigation of the matter, More was, however, entirely convinced of the fallacy attending such revelations as those to which the Maid of Kent pretended; and he declared, that "he thought her tale too marvellous to be true."* The conversations which More himself reported in his letter to Cromwell, with Friar Rich and others, concerning this reputed prophetess, afford, however, a curious and lamentable picture of the delusions of the age, when

* *More's Letter to Cromwell. Roper's More*, Append. p. 114.

men of sound acquirements and acute intellects can discuss, with seriousness, the absurd imposture which the nun and her accomplices had invented.

This affair not having been carried to any great extent by More, would never have embroiled him seriously. More had been, however, for some time prepared to oppose the will of his sovereign, and had fortified his mind to bear the consequences of that resistance. On one occasion, the Duke of Norfolk, whose principles were of a compliant and convenient description, expostulated with Sir Thomas on his temerity in braving the indignation of the king. "By the mass, Master More," said this abject courtier, "it is perilous striving with princes, therefore I wish you somewhat to incline to the king's pleasure; for by God's body, (a favourite oath with the Duke,) indignatio principis mors est." "Is that all, my lord?" replied More; "then in good faith the difference between your grace and me is but this, that I shall die to-day, and you tomorrow."* A reply approaching much more nearly to prophecy, than any of the sentences which had fallen from the lips of the nun of Kent.

About a month after the statute for the supremacy had been framed, More was sum-

* *Roper's More*, p. 69.

moned to Lambeth, there to receive the
April 13. oath, before the Archbishop of Canter-
1534. bury, the chancellor, and secretary Cromwell: a proceeding which was irregular, as, with the exception of More, none but priests had been cited before these commissioners. It was the practice of this pious man to receive mass, before engaging in any important business, and when he expected to be entrusted with employments of an arduous nature; and it was observed, on the morning of his citation to Lambeth, that he engaged in this religious service, thus seeking the most efficacious means of strengthening his fortitude, and of elevating his mind above the reach of sublunary dangers and disasters. It was remarked, by his anxious relations, that the departure of More from his beloved and happy home was less cheerful and even less affectionate than usual; for it was his custom on those occasions, to permit his family to conduct him to his boat, and there to kiss them, and to bid them farewell: on this day of gloom and apprehension, however, More suffered none of his children to accompany him to the river side, but pulling the gate hastily after him, he seated himself in his boat, with a heavy heart, as his countenance betrayed. These moments of dejection soon passed away, and, after a short silence, More whispered to his son-in-law, "Son

Roper, I thank the Lord one field is won;" meaning, as his relative understood him, that his temptations to deviate from his duty to the Supreme Being had been overcome, upon his separation from those objects of tender affection for whose sake life and prosperity were chiefly to be desired.* On his arrival at Lambeth, being summoned before the commissioners, he positively refused to take the oath of supremacy; but expressed himself willing to swear to the succession. He was warned of the king's displeasure, and desired by the lord chancellor to withdraw and consider the matter in the garden of the palace. The Bishop of Rochester being called, made the same reply as More. The council having finished the rest of their business, More was again called before them; and the anxiety which was evinced to persuade him into compliance, shews how much he was beloved and valued, even by those opposed to him in their religious opinions. The Archbisbop of Canterbury, the abbot of Westminster, and secretary Cromwell, remonstrated with him in vain; and Cromwell, perceiving that his ruin was inevitable, declared that he would rather his only son should have lost his head, than that More should have refused the oath.† Cranmer was equally

* *Roper's More*, p. 69.

† *More's Letter to Mrs. Roper. Burnet*, vol. i. p. 287.

solicitous to save More and the venerable bishop; and, in a letter to Cromwell, intreated, that their willingness to swear to the succession might be rendered acceptable to the king, instead of the oath of supremacy. This counsel was not, however, followed: More was committed to the Tower; and, in the ensuing parliament, he, with Fisher and others, were attainted of misprision of treason, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Their fate, however, was not fully determined until the following year.

The same parliament which passed a bill of attainder against More and Fisher, confirmed the supremacy of the king in all ecclesiastical matters, and his power to settle and reform all "heresies, errors, and other abuses in the spiritual jurisdiction, which required reformation." This clause with regard to heresies was productive of the utmost benefits to the reformers, for it abolished that power which the clergy had exercised with rigour, and by which they were enabled to punish all those deviations from the established opinions, which they considered as inimical to the true faith. During the chancellorship of Wolsey, persecution had been restrained, partly by the enlightened sentiments which that great man entertained on religion, and partly from his hatred of the clergy, to many of whom

intolerance was peculiarly acceptable.* Unfortunately for the Lutherans, as well as for his own reputation, More had imbibed very different opinions: and, conceiving it his duty to punish those who dared to avow a dissent from the Catholic church, he had influenced the king to to enter into his views.

It was to the bigotry and intemperate zeal of More, that the martyrdom of John Frith had been attributed, as it had occurred in 1533, during the chancellorship of More. The first offence which Frith committed was a reply to a work written by Sir Thomas, in defence of purgatory, for which, as Frith proved to the satisfaction of many persons, there was no ground in Scripture. This, and other points of doctrine which Frith maintained, were thought sufficient reasons for his destruction, and as he was a young man of extraordinary intellectual endowments, he was considered a powerful and dangerous innovator. Accordingly he was apprehended, and examined before Stokesley Bishop of London, Longland, and Gardiner. These prelates questioned him respecting his opinions upon transubstantiation and purgatory. Frith replied, that he could not find these doctrines in the Scriptures, and objected to receive them as articles of faith. The bishops endea-

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 2.

voured, in vain, to induce him to change the tone of these declarations; and, when they perceived the inefficacy of their arguments, threatened to proceed to a final sentence. This intimation was heard by the courageous martyr with unshaken composure, saying merely, "let judgment be done in righteousness." His judges gave a reluctant condemnation, and the bishop of London declared that he pronounced it with heaviness of heart: he was however sentenced to be burned, and suffered that cruel death at Smithfield, in company with one Hewet, an apprentice, who resolved to follow his example. When brought to the stake, Frith embraced the faggots with expressions of joy, as the means of obtaining salvation. On the populace being desired by one Doctor Cook, a clergyman of London, "not to pray for a heretic more than they would do for a dog," Frith, with truly Christian magnanimity, prayed God to forgive this unworthy member of a sacred profession. The flames, kindled with a more merciful care than were those which were lighted to consume the unhappy Bilney, soon reduced the poor sufferers to ashes.*

The fate of Frithwas regretted, even by many of the zealous Romanists, for he possessed uncommon endowments, and had been originally

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 312.

destined by Wolsey, on account of his reputation at Cambridge, to fill one of the professorships of the Cardinal's College in Oxford.* To Frith the church of England is indebted for some of her received opinions respecting the Eucharist, on which he had written in reply to Barnes, a zealous Lutheran, who differed in his sentiments, on this point, from Tindall and Frith.† During his imprisonment, Frith replied to a work written by Sir Thomas More on the same subject; and although laden with irons, without books, and in expectation of a horrible and untimely death, yet, this young controversialist answered his great opponent with so much ability, that Cranmer afterwards confessed his obligations to the work, and introduced some of the doctrines contained in its pages into the articles of the church which were subsequently established. It was no little merit, in a theological disputant of those days, to blend mildness and prudence with decision and firmness. Of these qualities the writings of Frith possess no common portion.

It had been well for the reputation of Sir Thomas More, if Frith had been the only victim of his mistaken zeal for religion; zeal, which never flows so widely from its proper course, as when it wanders into the channel of persecution.

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 312.

† *Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 265. note.

It was the principle of the more intolerant bishops, at this time, to make the most enlightened and considerable among the party denominated heretics, an example and a terror to their inferior followers. On this rule, one of the persons among those selected as victims, was James Bainham, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, and a man of noted piety and learning. This person was apprehended by the order of Sir Thomas More, and taken to his house at Chelsea. While under his roof, Sir Thomas endeavoured for some time to change the opinions of his prisoner, and treated him, at first, with great kindness; but, finding that he made no progress in this conversion, Sir Thomas commanded the poor man to be tied to a tree, called the Tree of Truth, in his garden, and whipped him with his own hand! After this disgraceful scene, Bainham was carried to the Tower, and there put on the rack, in the hope of inducing him to give up his accomplices in heresy; but, as nothing could be extorted from him by these means, Sir Thomas submitted him to the Bishop of London, by whom he was tried for
1531. heresy, at the residence of More. The replies of Bainham to the interrogatories made to him, were couched chiefly in the language of scripture, and discovered so much good sense and integrity, that even his persecutors

were unwilling to proceed to the last extremities. He was, however, convicted of heresy; but, assailed by the persuasions of Stokesley and More, the unhappy man was induced to make his abjuration. Immediate repentance followed this excusable, yet lamentable secession, and Bainham, like Bilney, experienced no tranquillity until he had publicly confessed his weakness, withdrawn his recantation, and entreated the people "not to do as he had done." Persecutions against Bainham were instantly renewed, and he was, shortly afterwards, burned in Smithfield as a relapsed and obstinate heretic.* The wife of Bainham, who had been formerly married to the noted Simon Fish, possessed a considerable portion of the zeal and courage which had animated both her husbands: she was committed to prison because she
1532. refused to disclose where her husband's books were secreted. The property of Bainham was also confiscated.†

Such were some of the proceedings which had produced the act, recently passed in the parliament, by which the authority of the clergy in these matters was annulled: yet, while Henry by the assertion of his own supremacy, checked these iniquitous abuses of power in the clergy,

* *Strype's Eccl. Memorials*, vol. i. p. 315.

† *Fox's Martyrology*, vol. i. pp. 937. 939.

he gave ample scope, by the cruelty of his own measures, for censure from those who denied the legality of regal jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs.

The Bishop of Rochester and Sir Thomas More still languished in all the protracted
1535. miseries of a tedious and rigorous confinement. Posterity has assigned a greater portion of sympathy to the fate of More than to that of his companion in calamity; yet it is probable, that the contemporaries of these distinguished men regarded the doom of Fisher as the least merited, since, although unjustly accused of instigating the prosecution of Frith, he had not incurred the public odium by persecution. The nature of Fisher was gentle and tolerant, and so susceptible was he of the kindly feelings of humanity, that being, on one occasion, obliged to excommunicate a Lutheran, he is said to have melted into tears in pronouncing sentence.* To the learned, Fisher had been endeared by the benefits which he had conferred upon the University of Cambridge, of which he was the first chancellor for life †, and which was indebted for some of her principal colleges, founded within this and the

* *Hall's Life of Fisher*, p. 26.

† *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 500.

preceding reign, to the good offices of this prelate.* To the public, in general, Fisher was an object of respect from the blamelessness of his life and the integrity of his principles; while, to the compassionate, he was rendered interesting by the unmerited sufferings of a cruel imprisonment, sustained with difficulty by an impaired constitution, yet borne without any pusillanimous expression of fear, or any attempt to avert still greater trials by unmanly concession. Deprived of his bishopric, this poor old man, once foremost in the counsels of his sovereign, was reduced to extreme necessity, having scarcely clothes sufficient to defend his aged frame from the cold winds which entered his dreary prison. The wants of More were in some measure supplied by the attentions of his daughter, and of other friends; but Fisher, childless and deserted by his former associates in prosperity, had no resource but to complain to Cromwell, and to await, with as much resignation as he could command, the moment when the decree of the council should suffer him to pass into eternal rest.† In this distress, the unfortunate prelate had, also, to contend with treachery and artifice; for being induced by two agents of Cromwell, Bedel and

* St. John's and Christ's Colleges, founded by Margaret Countess of Richmond.

† *Fuller's Church Hist.* book v. p. 190.

Lalgton, to disclose his reasons for refusing to take the oath of supremacy, his discourse was repeated by them to his disadvantage.* At last, after more than a year's imprisonment, the aged bishop was brought to his trial at the King's Bench, whither he went partly on horseback, partly, on account of weakness and fatigue, by water. He was tried by a commission of Oyer and Terminer, the Lord Chancellor, the Dukes of Norfolk and of Suffolk, sitting as commissioners with the judges. His indictment was couched in these terms — "Lord John Fisher, late Bishop of Rochester;" and this probably affords a reason for his not being tried by his peers, although some persons have supposed that, through grief and fear, he forgot to demand his privilege.† Fisher was of course found guilty, his condemnation being pre-determined. He was beheaded on the twenty-second of June, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. On the morning of his execution, the lieutenant of the Tower came into the apartment of the bishop, and told him that he was to suffer that forenoon. Fisher expressed no surprize at the intelligence, but said that he had expected that message long since; he added that he was thankful to the

May 7, 1535.

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 96.

† *Fuller's Worthies of York.*

king for closing his distresses, and for giving him a passage into another world. The bishop then prepared to dress himself with unusual care, telling his servant, who expressed amazement at the pains which he took with his appearance, that it was his wedding day, and that he ought to appear well, in compliment to the occasion. Being unable to walk, he was carried in a chair to the Tower gate, where, opening a Testament, he prayed God that some passage might occur suitable to his situation. Upon looking into the book, he found the passage beginning with these words: "This is life eternal, to know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Upon which he observed, "that this was learning enough for him until his life's end." As the king had desired that the last harangue of Fisher to the people might be short and cautious, he addressed only a few sentences to the people; but he delivered them with a cheerfulness and composure which conveyed to the audience a strong impression of his inward peace, and his hopes of heaven. He was then executed.

The fate of this good man inspired all ranks of people with compassion. In his diocese, Fisher had been particularly respected, having been thirty-three years Bishop of Rochester; and although he had been repeatedly offered a richer preferment, yet, he could never be induced to

change his see, saying that his church was his wife, and that he would not part with her because she was poor. The favour which Fisher enjoyed with the king was unshaken, until the business of the divorce, after which he never regained the regard of his unjust and hard-hearted sovereign.

The imprisonment of More was equally rigorous, but not so solitary as that of Fisher. Fortunately for More he had the consolation of knowing that his family were safe, and of receiving their affectionate attentions. It is true, that the oath of supremacy was required of women as well as of men, but to this the family of More did not object: his wife, indeed, deemed him a fool for his obstinate rejection of life and liberty, and visiting him in his prison, endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade him into a line of conduct more congenial to her notions of common sense.* Mrs. Roper, the favourite daughter of More, took the oath with the addition of this clause: "as far as would stand with the law of God." This limitation was accepted, and she, therefore, remained free to bestow upon

* A story is told of Sir Thomas More's favourite fool, Pattinson, who meeting one of Mr. Roper's servants, asked for Sir Thomas, and being told that he was still in the Tower, grew very angry, and said "Why what eyleth him that he will not swear? wherefore shoulde *he* stick to swear? I have sworn the oath myself." *Roper's Life of More*, note, p. 69.

her father those tender and pious offices which her filial affection prompted, and which her devout feelings instructed her to give.

Deprived of those means of passing away the monotonous hours of his captivity, without the use of books, of pens and of ink, More found, in his religious duties and in the conversation of his daughter, consolations of the most exalted description. When obliged to forego the society of his beloved companion, he employed himself in singing psalms, in writing with a cinder to his daughter, and in composing a work entitled, "Comfort in Tribulation" and other religious treatises. During the imprisonment of More, several executions took place, on account of the refusal to take the oath. Several priors of the Carthusian order were hanged, by order of Cromwell, for refusing to acknowledge the supremacy of the king. Two of these fathers were men of great piety, and evinced, in their constancy and resignation, that their resistance proceeded from no other motives than conscientious scruples: even the king was reluctant to punish these men, to whom he sent frequently in prison, in order to convince them, if possible, of their error. Some of these unfortunate men happening to pass before the window of the apartment in which More was confined, he envied their destiny, which would so soon place them beyond the reach of all

sorrow, and far from being intimidated by the rigour shewn to them, he continued to resist, with uniform constancy, the arguments of persons employed by the king to argue with him, and the still more affecting entreaties of his daughter Margaret.

During his imprisonment, More was alternately visited by Cromwell, by the Dukes of Norfolk and of Suffolk, and by Rich the solicitor general and afterwards chancellor, in the time of Edward the Sixth, a man whose mode of proceeding and whose religious persuasion are well described by Fuller, when he calls him "the great hammer for knocking down the monasteries under Cromwell." For some time, these visitants to More pressed him, in vain, either to acknowledge or to deny the supremacy; but he was at length entrapped into an unguarded confession to Rich, who basely availed himself of this disclosure as evidence. Soon after this conversation More was taken on foot through the streets to Westminster, where he was arraigned before a special commission for high treason, found guilty, and sentenced at first to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; a decree which was afterwards changed into that of decapitation. Upon his departure from the bar to the Tower, Sir William Kingston, his friend, and the lieutenant of the Tower, could not refrain from tears;

observing which, More bade him be comforted, "for that they should meet in heaven, where they would be merry for ever." With equal composure did he witness the grief of his daughter, Mistress Roper, who, rushing through the crowd of soldiers which surrounded him, ran to him, embraced him, and entreated a blessing, which "was given, with many godly words of comfort beside." At last the sorrowing daughter tore herself away, but returned again to cling to the neck of her father, and to take the last heart-rending farewell. The populace, when they beheld the agonizing separation, could not refuse the tribute of tears to the sorrows of this exemplary pair. This was the last interview which passed between those who had loved each other tenderly; and the sad consolation of attending the funeral of her father, was the only worldly comfort which the afflicted Margaret Roper was suffered to receive.

On the morning of St. Thomas's day, a week after the condemnation of More, Sir Thomas Pope, his intimate friend, was sent from the king to apprize him that his sentence would be executed at nine o'clock the same day. More earnestly wished, that the closing scene might take place on that festival, and had already made his final preparations for the event, by sending to his daughter the hair shirt and rope

with which he usually inflicted mortification upon himself, and by dressing himself in his best apparel. Upon ascending the scaffold, which was unstable, More, whose jocular vein did not desert him, said to Kingston, "I pray you, master lieutenant, see me safe up, and for my coming down, let me shift for myself." When on the scaffold, he called all present to bear witness that he suffered for the faith of the catholic church, declaring himself at the same time to be the king's true and faithful subject. The executioner asking him forgiveness, Sir Thomas kissed him, and said, "no mortal man could give what he was about to receive at his hands; but I am sorry," added he, "my neck is so short, therefore strike no awry for saving of thy honesty." One stroke sufficed, and this ornament of his age and of his country expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

In pursuance of a barbarous custom, the heads of More and of Fisher were both exposed on London Bridge. The pope, Paul the Third, successor to Clement the Seventh, who had died the preceding year, had recently made Fisher a cardinal, but Henry, hearing of this promotion, declared that "Paul might send the bishop a hat, but that he would take care that he should never have a head to wear it on." This speech, unfeeling in any case, was rendered almost brutal

by the circumstances which should have induced Henry to spare the grey hairs of his aged victim.*

The removal of two men who exercised the powerful influence both of talents and of character against the Protestant cause, was doubtless an event favourable to the Reformation; but there were other circumstances, also, at this time, which specially aided the Lutherans in this country. Queen Anne was decidedly inclined to their tenets, which she had evinced by taking Latimer and Crome, who had been accused of heretical opinions, to be her chaplains, and by promoting them soon afterwards to the bishoprics of Salisbury and of Worcester, vacant by the deprivation of Campeggio and Ghinnucci. Besides her protection, the reformers enjoyed that of Cranmer, who, mild and conciliating in deportment, recommended the doctrines he professed to hold, not by vehemence or fanaticism, but by reason and consistency of conduct. But the most active, and perhaps the most efficacious promoter of the reformed opinions was Cromwell, who, being appointed the king's vicegerent in religious affairs, exercised that

* The head of Fisher, according to the papists, became fresher every day, and it was resorted to by the superstitious, as a saintly relic. It was said, that in order to confer a similar tribute on the head of Sir Thomas More, it was boiled previous to its exhibition; but this was customary, in cases of exposure after decapitation, in order to prevent putrefaction.

office with an innovating and unsparing hand. It might be thought that few would like to oppose so powerful an union of ability and of energy; but there existed in the court a powerful party in favour of the Romanists. At the head of this was the Duke of Norfolk, uncle to Anne Bullen, although an enemy both to her and to the Lutherans. This able courtier had managed to coincide with the king's views of the divorce, without favouring those who were disposed to encourage innovations in religion. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was the great coadjutor of the Duke of Norfolk; and as these men were both insidious and designing; and, as they understood well the temper of Henry, they possessed considerable weight in the councils. To this party was also devoted Longland, the confessor to the king; and a formidable opposition was thus presented to the reformers.

1536. Jan. 8. The original subject of contention between Henry and the church of Rome, was now at an end. Katharine of Arragon died this year at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon.

The disease which terminated the life of this unfortunate queen, has not been specified by historians, who appear in general to have understood, that sorrow was the principal malady which brought her to the grave. There can be

no doubt that her death was accelerated by the hopeless state of her affairs abroad, and by the repeated mortifications which she had to endure at home. For some time after her retirement Katharine had resided at Bugden, near Huntingdon, a palace belonging to the Bishop of Lincoln; and, finding that her health declined, she had attributed that circumstance to the air of the place, and had entreated the king to appoint some residence for her in the vicinity of the metropolis. Henry, with that brutal indifference to the happiness of others, which had now become habitual to him, ordered her, through Cromwell, to remove to Fotheringay Castle, a place still more distant from the metropolis than Bugden. To this Katharine, with her usual spirit, answered, that "she would not go thither, unless the king chose to send her as a prisoner bound with ropes," notwithstanding all the provision that was made there for her abode.*

Henry had next endeavoured either to compel the repudiated queen by threats, or to move her by intreaties, to resign all claim to that state and dignity to which she had been accustomed, and to give up the title of queen. But Katharine, whose maternal tenderness, far more than her pride, instigated her to resistance, refused, till her last moments, to accede to demands, a com-

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 370.

pliance with which would not only have degraded her in the eyes of the country, but would have injured the prospects of her daughter with regard to the succession, and cast the stain of illegitimacy upon the birth of that princess. She was still, therefore, treated as a queen by her servants, nor would she permit any person to enter her presence who had presumed to address her by an inferior title. The king, on hearing of this tenacity on the part of Katharine, wrote to one of her officers, named Vaux, desiring him to send an account of all those domestics who still disobeyed the injunctions of Cromwell, with a view to their dismissal. But Vaux replied, that all the attendants of the queen's privy-chamber had been formerly sworn to Queen Katharine and King Henry, and that they could not with propriety discontinue a form upon which they had taken an oath: he added, that the priests esteemed it a matter of conscience, to treat the queen as formerly, and instilled the notion into the minds of others; that since the Pope had given sentence upon the cause of Katharine against the king, they were in duty bound still to consider her as queen. Vaux, in this letter, describes Katharine as "merry, and bearing a good and joyful countenance." The resort of persons to her residence before she left Bugden for Kimbolton was great, and they were received with courtesy and cheer-

fulness by the queen.* Yet, as if every enjoyment were to be wrested from the mortified Katharine, the visits of her guests were so narrowly watched, and the length and nature of their conversations with her so minutely described, that little enjoyment could have resulted from society on which the restraint, if not the confinement, of a prison was imposed.

At length, as if this system of vigilance were not sufficient, the Duke of Suffolk was dispatched to Katharine, about a year previous to her death, in order to expostulate with her upon her continued resistance to the decrees of the universities, and her addresses to the court of Rome. This step was hastened by the denunciation against Henry, which had recently been posted in the town of Dunkirk by the authority of the Pope. Katharine heard the remonstrances of the duke with unbridled passion, and, suddenly quitting him, rushed into her private chamber, the door of which she instantly closed. Brandon, seeing this violence, broke up all the arrangements of the queen's court, discharged a number of her servants, and obliged those that remained to take an oath, that they would address her in future only as Princess Dowager. Against this command, even the domestics expostulated; and many, adhering to

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 349.

their former oath to serve Katharine as queen, preferred quitting her service, rather than do what they considered a dereliction from their duty.* As the queen resolutely refused to permit those of her attendants to remain who had taken the oath to treat her merely as a princess, her train was considerably diminished. The comforts of her household were also abridged; and, notwithstanding her ample jointure, the officers of the queen complained to Cromwell of want of money.

These sources of annoyance to Katharine were seriously aggravated by the separation from her daughter, whom she was not permitted to see after the final interview between the king and the queen: it is even said, that Henry had the barbarity to refuse a last interview between the mother and the daughter, when Katharine, on her death-bed, earnestly entreated to see her child; a statement, unfortunately, too true.† When Katharine became aware of her dangerous condition, she addressed to the king the following affecting letter. "My most dear lord, king, and husband; the hour of my death now approaching, I cannot chuse, but out of love I bear you, advise you of your soul's health, which you ought to prefer before all

* *Hall.*

† See *Letters in Hearne's Titus Livius, Foro Juliensis*, p.108.

considerations of the world and flesh whatsoever. For which yet, you have cast me into many calamities, and yourself into many troubles; but I forgive you all, and pray God to do so likewise. For the rest, I commend unto you Mary, our daughter, beseeching you to be a good father to her, as I have hitherto desired: I must intreat you also, to respect my maids, and give them in marriage, which is not much, they being but three; and to all my other servants, a year's pay besides their due, lest they be unprovided for; lastly, I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.* Farewell!" †

Katharine desired her attendants to make two copies of this letter; and instructed them to transmit one of them to Eustachio Chapuys, ambassador from Charles the Fifth, in the hope, that, if the king refused to provide for her attendants, her nephew might, for her sake, become their benefactor. The king wept on reading her simple and touching address to himself; and perhaps some portion of self-reproach may have mingled with his compassion for the sufferings of a woman, whose affections he had so little merited and so cruelly requited. As a last consolation, however, to the dying queen,

* Shakespeare has taken many hints from this letter for the dying speech made by Katharine to Capucius. See Henry the Eighth, Act 4. Scene 2.

† *Herbert*, p. 432.

Henry, dispatched Eustachio to visit her at Kimbolton, and to convey to her a message of kindness; but Katharine, although she lived long enough to receive and to converse privately with the ambassador, yet remained not in existence many days after his arrival. Her latter days were also soothed by the presence of her friend Lady Willoughby, who, scarcely expecting from the accounts she had heard, to have found the queen alive, reached Kimbolton three days before the death of Katharine. This lady was with some difficulty admitted to the chamber of the queen, the officers affirming that they had no authority to allow any person to approach her highness, without a licence. It appears that by the attentions of these friends, the mind of Katharine was somewhat tranquillized, and that she enjoyed some portion of repose after her interviews with them: nor did her physician entirely despair of her recovery, although he expected her illness at all events to be lingering, if not fatal. The amendment, was, however, illusive; she died three days after this opinion was given.*

By her will, Katharine appropriated all that the king might allow her to retain of her possessions, to the payment of her debts, and the recompence of those domestics who had served

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 373.

her faithfully. She directed that her body should be interred in a convent of Observant friars, that order having suffered much in her cause; and she desired, that some person might visit our Lady of Walsingham in pilgrimage, for the benefit of her soul, and that twenty nobles might be distributed by the way. She prayed the king, her "good lord," as she called him, to have ornaments made for the church in which she was to be deposited, of the gowns belonging to her which she had in her possession. The fur appertaining to these dresses, as well as a valuable collar of gold which she brought from Spain, Katharine bequeathed to her daughter. Her legacies to her servants did not amount to more than twenty pounds.*

Upon the receipt of this testament, the king deliberated what course was to be pursued with respect to the property of the deceased queen, of which he was left the sole executor. By some persons he was advised to seize upon it as his own, since the queen had declared that "she had nothing to give away, as all she had was the king's:" but Rich, the solicitor-general, upon the orders of the king, shewed, that as the queen was, at the time of her death, a single woman, she had a right to her goods, and that the next

* See *Will of Katharine in Strype's Mem.* vol. i. pt. 12. no. 9.

of kin was to administer and to pay the debts. This celebrated lawyer recommended, therefore, to the king, to send an injunction to the Bishop of Lincoln, in whose diocese the queen died, to grant the administration of her goods to such persons as the king should name; and, then, that the king should receive the property, from those who administered, in order to appropriate it to the payments of her debts and to the expences of her funeral.*

The injunctions of Katharine with respect to her funeral were disregarded, and she was interred with due solemnity in the abbey church of Peterborough, but without any monumental fabric or inscription. A simple brass plate now marks the spot where the remains of this celebrated woman were deposited in the cathedral.† It is a curious reflection, that the remains of Katharine and of Mary Queen of Scots, who both suffered from the selfishness and

* *Strype's Records*, vol. i. pt. 2. no. 70.

† Far greater distinction is allotted to the sexton who performed the last offices for the queen, than to the grave of this persecuted but inflexible woman. The well-known fact, that old Scarlet, the sexton of Peterborough Cathedral during four reigns, interred the body of Katharine of Arragon, and of Mary, Queen of Scots, fifty years afterwards, is so far worth relation, as any details of persons so celebrated excite interest. The hero of this tale is commemorated by a hideous glaring picture on the walls of the beautiful structure in which the two queens were entombed.

indulged passions of two members of a family, similar to each other in many points of character, should, in the same church, repose in that common sleep, in which their miseries were obliterated.* The Abbey of Peterborough was afterwards spared, by the commands of Henry, from the levelling hands of Cromwell and his commissioners; and was erected into a bishopric, in honour to the memory of the queen.

The intelligence of Katharine's death is said to have inspired Queen Anne with sentiments of triumphant joy. She has, even, been supposed to have indicated her satisfaction, by contemptuously assuming a yellow garb for mourning; but, as that colour was usually assigned in France to public mournings for queens, this trifling circumstance may be construed as a compliment on the part of Anne, who may be supposed thereby to have acknowledged the rank of her rival to have been unaltered by the recent proceedings. This interpretation of Anne's conduct is not, however, probable, especially as she exultingly declared, on receiving the news of her rival's decease, "that she was now indeed a queen." Her triumph was, however, of short

* The remains of Mary were removed to Westminster Abbey, by her son James the First, twenty-five years after her interment in Peterborough Abbey, which happened in 1587, immediately after her execution at Fotheringay Castle.

duration; her season of adversity was shortly to arrive.

Anne had imprudently retained about her person, Jane Seymour, a maid of honour of great beauty, according to the taste of the times, and of a mind and disposition suitable in gentleness and delicacy to her external loveliness. Jane Seymour was one of the four daughters of Sir John Seymour, of Wolfe Hall, in Wiltshire. Her father was descended from the Lords Beauchamp, and had married into the honourable family of Wentworth; he had also maintained a reputation for valour in the wars both of the last and of the present reign; and, at this time, held the situation of governor to Bristol Castle.* The birth of Jane Seymour was therefore respectable, and nature seemed to have destined her for an elevated station. Possessing less attractive loveliness than Anne Bullen, the person of Jane was characterized by more perfect symmetry, and her features by greater regularity than those of her royal mistress, while her deportment displayed the dignity without the reserve of Queen Katharine. To these advantages Jane Seymour united that of an easy temper, which neither of her predecessors had possessed; and her conversation, while it was free from the austerity and national gravity which had cast a

* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 439.

gloom upon the social qualities of Katharine, had yet a more correct and elevated tone than the discourse in which Anne too often indulged, the result of a careless and playful disposition.*

It has been asserted, by those who wish to attribute every adverse occurrence during the reign of Henry to his depraved inclinations and wanton barbarity, that the discovery of the king's intimacy with Jane Seymour, agitated Anne to so great a degree as to cause a premature confinement. The child, which was a male, was still-born.

The birth of this infant has been assigned by Hall† and Stowe to the year 1536; but Mr. Lodge has satisfactorily shewn that the date of this event has either been misplaced, or that Anne must have been delivered two years before of a living son, whose entrance into the world was formally announced to the peers, lord lieutenants, and sheriffs of counties, by a letter, still preserved in the Harleian collection of the British Museum. That document is dated Sept. 7th, "at my lordis manor of Greenwiche, in the xxvth yere of said lordis reigne." It is probable from different circumstances, that it is not that birth to which our chronicles refer; this letter, therefore, proves only how inaccurately their details must, in many respects,

* *Lodge's Historical Memoirs.* † *Hall*, p. 818.

have been compiled, since the first of the male children borne by Anne has been entirely passed over by the most anthentic of our annalists. The statement that Anne's miscarriage was occasioned by the conduct of Henry towards Jane Seymour rests upon the authority of Sanders, whose assertions have seldom the slightest consistency to recommend them. If a work similar to his celebrated book, De Schismaticu Anglicani, were to appear in the present æra, it would be instantly disproved in a thousand periodical publications, the incongruity of the details would be inevitably exposed, and the spirit of slander, which pervades the whole composition, unsparingly censured. By the Romanists of her own time, the disappointment which befell Anne was considered as a judgment from Heaven for her indecent joy upon the death of Katharine; but however this might be, it it quite unnecessary to add any additional cause of abhorrence to the character of Henry by imputing to him, in this instance, a degree of barbarity which no one will deny him to have exercised. It may be remarked, however, that this was a favourite accusation against Henry, who has been also charged with occasioning the occurrence of a similar accident during his first marriage, by the bitter reproaches which he made to Katha-

rine of Arragon, on account of the perfidy of her father.*

The affections of the capricious monarch being alienated from Anne, he determined to avail himself of the most trifling circumstances, to throw a shadow of justice over the measures by which he intended to effect her ruin. Either pretending to be jealous of the queen, or actually distrusting her fidelity, he manifested his suspicions of Anne, whose temper wascheerful, and who, elated with her splendid fortunes, was, in some respects, guilty of indiscretion. When, however, she perceived the coldness of Henry towards her, and discovered his partiality for her attendant, Anne, prudently endeavoured to avert her fate by redoubling her affectionate attentions towards the king; but Henry was too little disposed to cherish Anne as his wife, to be won over by her caresses; and, seizing the first opportunity of venting his dislike towards her, all his anger burst forth during a tilting match at Greenwich, on May-day.

Few details concerning this momentous day have been related by the chroniclers, who, apparently engrossed in the sad catastrophe to which these fatal jousts were preliminary, have omitted those particulars generally given with tedious prolixity. It seems, however, that

* *Le Grand*, vol. i. p. 39.

George Bullen, Viscount Rochford, brother to the queen, and Henry Norris, a gentleman of the privy chamber, were the challenger and the defendant in the lists, of which they were frequently the principal combatants. It has been asserted by Sanders, who has written a scandalous libel upon Henry the Eighth, under the title of a history, that Anne dropped a handkerchief, which was picked up by one of her favourites who was engaged in the courses, and who used it to wipe his face. Upon observing this, continues the same narrator, the king was unable longer to conceal his jealous fury*; Henry, quitting the tilt-yard in great irritation, hastened to Westminster, and ordered Lord Rochford and Henry Norris to be apprehended. Anne, finding that the king had deserted the scene of his favourite amusement, departed also; and proceeded in her barge towards Westminster, where she was instantly confined, by the command of the king, to her own chamber. Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the privy chamber, with one Mark Smeton, a musician, were likewise confined and interrogated with Rochford and Norris. On the examination of these five persons, none of them confessed to any thing which could materially injure the queen, except Smeton. They

* *Herbert*, p. 146. from *Sanders*.

were nevertheless sent, on the following day, to the Tower.*

Edward Baynton, who, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, details the evidence of these men, declares, that "none of them will confess to any direct thing, except Mark," (Smeton)†; and Norris, in the same letter, is stated to have averred, "that he said to her almoner, he could not accuse her, for she was a good woman." It appears, therefore, that the destruction of Anne was a predetermined point, since such trifling grounds of accusation could alone be made out against her. When the unfortunate queen heard the offences with which she was charged, she smiled, and treated the matter lightly, saying, "that she was sure the king did this only to prove her." Her tone changed, however, upon learning that those who were considered as her accomplices were sent to the Tower. She began now to fear that she also should be sent thither, and perceiving that the matter was indeed serious, she endeavoured to prepare herself for death, and intreated that she might receive the sacrament in her closet: nevertheless, the vivacity of her temper burst forth occasionally, and hysterical laughter frequently interrupted the tears of anguish and penitence with which she poured forth her supplications to heaven. Since Anne had fa-

* *Stow*, p. 572. † *Cottonian MSS. Otho.* c. x. 209.

voured the cause of Protestantism, she trusted much to the intercession of the bishops, by many of whom, and especially by Cranmer, she was greatly esteemed; and she said, "that if her bishops were about the king, they would speak for her; that she should be a saint in heaven, for she had done many good deeds; and that there should be no rain, but only heavy judgments on the land for what they were now doing to her."

On the day following the festivities of the tilt-yard, Anne was committed to the Tower; and on her way thither, in her barge, she was met by several lords who were deputed to inform her of her offence. On hearing her accusation, the poor queen made solemn protestations of innocence, and intreated that she might be allowed to see the king, a request which was refused. On entering the Tower, Anne fell on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as she was not guilty of the thing for which she was accused. But her asseverations were useless, for it was of little importance to the king whether she were innocent or guilty, so that a colouring of legal form could be given to his proceeding. The meanest artifices were employed to ensnare her, and as her mind was agitated almost to delirium by her situation, it was scarcely possible that she could have avoided disclosing all that she had to confess. Yet it

May 2, 1526.

appears, that even in her most unguarded moments, nothing could be elicited from her incoherent expressions.

Her kinswoman, the Lady Bullen, with whom Anne had been on bad terms, was placed as a spy upon her; and, in order to afford ample opportunity for drawing confessions from the prisoner, Lady Bullen was directed to sleep in the same chamber, a circumstance of which Anne complained bitterly, as she disliked this relative.* The Duke of Norfolk, uncle to Anne, who basely conspired with the king to destroy this unfortunate woman, visited her with some of the privy council, but though they made her believe that Norris and Smeton had accused her, they could not obtain any acknowledgment of guilt. Of the harsh and impatient manner in which her uncle treated her, Anne complained bitterly, saying that he interrupted her defence before the lords of the council, shaking his head three or four times, and muttering, *tut, tut, tut!* † The character of this peer seems to have been so impregnated with all the vices of a courtier, that it is without regret, that we behold him afterwards suffering under a sort of retributive justice for his selfish and cruel policy.

When left in her prison with Kingston and her female attendants, Anne fell down on her knees,

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 262. † *Strype*, vol. i. p. 434.

exclaiming, "Jesu, have mercy on me." She derived, however, some consolation from repeated communion, but this relief to her distracted mind was frequently interrupted by bursts of hysterical laughter. She declared her innocence to Sir William Kingston, then governor of the Tower, and called herself "the king's true wedded wife." These asseverations were mingled with pathetic inquiries respecting her parents, and she asked eagerly after Rochford. "Oh where," said she, "is my sweet brother?" To this question Kingston returned an evasive answer, unwilling to add to the distress of his prisoner by informing her of the truth.* When told that Norris had accused her, the unhappy queen was stung to the soul, and cried out, "that he and Smeton would die with her." Again she said "she grieved for her mother's sorrow as for her own," and "hoped she should have justice;" upon which those around her replied, that "the poorest in the land had justice, and it would be much more especially allotted to her." In this harassed and feverish state, rendered almost childish by misery and terror, which were aggravated by contrast with the dazzling splendour of her former situation; trembling with apprehensions of a cruel death, and induced to believe that those accused with her had con-

* *Strype.*

fessed their guilt, although all that could be extracted from the imprudent, amounted only to a confession of levity; which, while it proved that she was deficient in delicacy and prudence, does not justify those rigorous measures by which her foibles and her faults were so severely expiated.

Anne appears to have indiscreetly encouraged a species of gossiping flirtation with the gentlemen of the privy chamber, who, it must be observed, were mostly of respectable descent, and who could not be considered in the light of low menials; the former condition also of the queen should be taken into account; for, in her situation as maid of honour, she had probably become habituated to that flippant discourse which has, often, no worse source than idleness and vanity. With these allowances, her confessions must be received: they amounted to these: — Norris, who was an especial favourite with the king, was one day in discourse with his royal mistress; when she asked him "why he did not go on with his marriage?" upon which he replied, that "he meant to tarry some time;" to this she answered, "you look for dead men's shoes; if aught come to the king but good, you look to have me:" he answered, "that if he had any such thought he would his head was cut off;" upon which she said, "she could undo him

if she pleased ;" which caused a quarrel.* With regard to Smeton, whom she appeared during her confinement to regard with contempt, Anne confessed, that when the king was at Winchester he came into her chamber to play upon the virginals ; and, when she saw him in the window, she asked him "how he was so sad?" he said, "it was no matter ;" then she replied, "you may not look to have me speak to you, as if you were a nobleman, since you are a person of low degree:" "no, no, madam," rejoined the musician, "a look sufficeth me." She owned that Weston had said to her, "that Norris came to her chamber more on her account than for Madge," one of her maids whom he courted ; and that she had observed, that Weston loved a relation of hers better than his wife, for which she reproved him ; but he answered, "that there were women in the house whom he loved better than both." She asked "who?" upon which he said, "yourself;" in reply to this she defied him, "in scorn and displeasure," as she said to Kingston, "for reflecting upon her honour."† These confessions from the vain and thoughtless queen, trifling as they were, and rather proving that she had nothing to avow, than that her conscience was burdened with very grievous sins, had, however, the effect of increasing the irri-

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 233. † *Strype*, p. 238.

tation of the king, who was offended by the liberties taken even with his name. His indignation was aggravated by the virulence of the enemies of the queen, who hated her for her religious opinions; and above all things, endeavoured to prevent Cranmer from obtaining a private interview with Henry.

It has been said, also, that the ladies of the court disliked Anne, and that they saw her with regret substituted for the late queen, who had been an universal favourite.* The voice of that part of the community, to whose opinions the king was chiefly accessible, was, therefore, wholly adverse to the emancipation of the queen from that odium which she had already incurred, and from the dangers with which she was threatened. The primate was, however, too sincerely attached to Anne and to her family, not to make some effort in her favour, and not being permitted to approach Henry, he wrote to him on the day following her apprehension. In this letter, which displays the zeal of a friend, blended with the prudence of a courtier, Cranmer declares, "that although he never had a better opinion of woman than he had of the queen, yet that he thinks the king would not have gone so far, unless she had been really culpable;" an assertion which no one who had become acquainted with Henry's character

* *Meteren, Histoire du Pays Bas*, p. 21.

could make conscientiously, although Lord Herbert has affirmed, in his partiality to this prince, "that he was not bloody but where law, or at least pretexts drawn from thence, did countenance his actions."*

This intercession, which was sent to the king on the 3d of May, produced little or no effect on the mind of Henry.

1536.

The trials of Norris, Smeton, Brereton, and Weston, commenced on the twelfth day of the month, under a commission of Oyer and Terminer, in Westminster Hall. These men were found guilty and condemned, although each protested his innocence, except Smeton, who, of all the accused persons, was from his birth and character the least likely to have found favour in the sight of Anne. He acknowledged a criminal connection with the queen, hoping by this confession to obtain mercy. It is remarkable that so important a witness as Smeton should never have been confronted with the queen; he shared, however, the sentence with the rest, and they were condemned to be beheaded, and afterwards quartered, as guilty of high treason. To Norris, pardon had been offered by the king at first, if he would confess, but he answered that "he would allege nothing against the queen, for that he believed her to be

* *Herbert*, p.445.

innocent."* Smeton, on account of his mean condition, was hanged instead of beheaded; he had also been confined in strong irons for the same reason, during his imprisonment. Previous to their trial, Anne addressed the following affecting letter to the king; but it touched not his heart, hardened by the compliance with his will and passions which he constantly received from his subjects.†

"Sir, — Your grace's displeasure and my imprisonment are things so strange to me, as what to write, or what to excuse, I am altogether

* *Burnet*, vol. iii. p. 203.

† With regard to the authenticity of this composition, historians are divided. It was found among Cromwell's papers, and though given as authentic by Lord Herbert, is rejected as not genuine by other writers, on account of its differing from Anne's other letters to Henry in spelling, signature and writing. See *Lingard*, vol. vi. p. 315. Mr. Lodge, in his Historical Memoirs, pronounces it to be the work of a wiser head, and of a later period. See *Lodge's Historical Memoirs*, Art. *A. Bullen*. The original of this letter is not remaining now, but Mr. Ellis, in his Original Letters, collected from the British Museum, pronounces the handwriting to have belonged to the proper period. Anne was too closely guarded, for any friend to compose it for her. Lady Bullen and Mrs. Cosins, a waiting gentlewoman, slept on her pallet, and Sir William Kingston and his wife at the door of her apartment. See *Ellis's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 56. The copy of this celebrated composition is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. Otho. C. X. with many other interesting letters of the same period.

ignorant. Whereas you send unto me, (willing me to confess a truth, and so to obtain your favour,) by such an one as you know to be mine ancient and profess'd enemy *, I no sooner received your message from him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and as if, as you say, willing to confess a truth, indeed, may procure my safety, I shall with all willingness and duty perform your command.

"But let not your grace ever imagine that your poor wife will ever be brought to acknowledge a fault, where not so much as a thought ever preceded. And to speak a truth, never prince had a wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in Anne Bullen, with which name and place I could willingly have contented myself, if God and your grace's pleasure had been so pleased. Neither did I at any time so far forget myself in my exaltation, or received queenship, but that I always looked for such an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no surer foundation than your grace's fancy, the least alteration I knew was fit and sufficient to draw that fancy to another subject.

"You have chosen me from a low estate to be your queen and companion, far beyond my

* Probably the Duke of Norfolk.

desert and desire; if then you found me worthy of such honour, good your grace, let not any light fancy, or bad council of mine enemies, withdraw your princely favour from me; neither let that stain, that unworthy stain of a disloyal heart towards your good grace, ever cast so foul a blot on your most dutiful wife, and the infant princess your daughter. Try me, good king, but let me have a lawful trial; and let not my sworn enemies sit as my accusers and judges; yea, let me have an open trial, for my truth shall fear no open shame. Then shall you see either mine innocency cleared, your suspicion and conscience satisfied, the ignominy and slander of the world stopped, or my guilt openly declared. So that whatsoever God or you may determine of me, your grace may be freed from an open censure, and mine offence being lawfully proved, your grace is at liberty, both before God and man, not only to execute worthy punishment on me as an unfaithful wife, but to follow your affection already settled on that party, for whose sake I am now as I am, whose name I could some good while since have pointed unto, your grace not being ignorant of my suspicion therein.

"But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my death, but an infamous slander must bring you the enjoying of your

desired happiness, then I desire of God that He will pardon your great sin therein, and likewise mine enemies, the instruments thereof, and that He will not call you to a strict account for your unprincely and cruel usage of me, at His great judgment seat, where both you and myself must shortly appear, and in whose judgment I doubt not (whatsoever the world may think of me), mine innocence shall be openly known and sufficiently declared.

"My last and only request shall be, that myself may only bear the burthen of your grace's displeasure; and that it may not touch the innocent souls of these poor gentlemen, who (as I understand) are likewise in strait imprisonment for my sake. If ever I have found favour in your sight, if ever the name of Anne Bullen hath been pleasing in your ears, then let me obtain this request; and I will so leave to trouble your grace any further, with my earnest prayers to the Trinity to have your grace in His good keeping, and to direct your grace in all his actions.

"From my doleful prison in the Tower, this 8th of May. Your most loyal and ever faithful wife, ANNE BULLEN."

To this eloquent letter, Strype, who seems to concur in its authenticity, has added another

passage, which he affirms to have been written in reply to a message from the king to Anne, intreating her to confess. "She declared," says the historian, "that she could confess nothing more than she had already spoken: that she would conceal nothing from the king to whom she did acknowledge herself bound for many favours; for raising her first from a mean woman to be a marchioness, next to be his queen; and now seeing he could bestow no further honour upon her on earth, he purposed to make her, by martyrdom, a saint in Heaven."* This admirable reply, displayed prudence, combined with an elevation of sentiment almost approaching to sublimity, was lost upon the degraded mind of Henry.

On the fifteenth of May, the queen, with Lord Rochford, her brother, were tried before their peers; the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquis of Exeter, the Earl of Arundel, and twenty-five other noblemen, officiating on this

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 437.

See also a letter from the Earl of Northumberland to Cromwell, dated from Newington Green, May 13th, 1536, solemnly denying any engagement with Anne. The curious collection of letters in that part of the Cottonian MSS. are so greatly injured by fire that it is now almost impossible to decipher them. Many of them have been published by Hearne, in his Sylloge to Titus Livius and others, in Mr. Ellis's valuable Collection of Original Letters; a species of work highly essential to an accurate knowledge of history.

melancholy occasion. In the Duke of Norfolk, appointed lord high steward for the time, Anne, although his niece, had to encounter a bitter and powerful enemy; she had therefore little chance of meeting with an impartial judgment from a commission of which he was the president. On being brought to the bar, where a chair was permitted her, the unhappy queen was accused of adultery with her brother, and the four other prisoners already convicted; *and was accused with having said to each of them, that the king never had her heart, and that she loved him better than any person whatsoever, which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her.* This, according to the law which was made for the succession of Anne's children, was treason; so that with a degree of ingenious perversion, quite congenial to the temper of Henry, the act which had been passed on account of Anne was employed in order to destroy her*; and an accusation of having conspired against the life of the king was added to aggravate the crimes imputed to the poor queen.† Nor was there any legal evidence to support this mockery of legal proceeding; and as Mark Smeton, who had deposed to a criminal intercourse with Anne, had not been confronted with her, it is reasonable to infer that her persecutors feared the force of

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 368. † See *Lingard*.

innocence opposed to falsehood. They were obliged, therefore, to have recourse to hearsay evidence, and to produce witnesses who swore to what they had heard from one Lady Wingfield, a former attendant of the queen, who, as they affirmed, had during an illness of which she died, dropped expressions concerning the queen's guilt, which were now made the ground, or rather the pretext of her trial.

Anne, fearless as to the result of her examination, answered the questions which were addressed to her with admirable discretion, and said nothing which could possibly criminate herself. Her deportment on this sad occasion is described by Meteren, who had the whole account of the proceedings against Anne, of her sufferings and death, from a French gentleman named Crispin, who was at this period in London. "All who were present," as this foreigner observed, "believed her to be innocent; her countenance, modest as it was lovely, spoke for her, even more than her words." The Mayor of London, who was present, declared that he heard nothing to criminate her; and that all that he could make of the matter was, that her judges wanted to get her out of the way.* She was, nevertheless, found guilty, and sentenced to be beheaded or burned,

* *Burnet.*

according to the king's pleasure. When Anne heard her sentence, she raised her hands to Heaven, exclaiming "Oh Father! Oh Creator! Thou that art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest that I have not deserved this death." Then turning to her judges, her merciless uncle among the rest, she declared her truth to the king, her honour and chastity: she said she would willingly suffer a thousand deaths to save the lives of her brother, and of those who were condemned for her sake. She then left the hall of the Tower, where her trial had been held.

Lord Rochford was next arraigned, and replied to the charge in the same way as his sister had already done, declaring his innocence. The only grounds of his accusation were merely that he had been seen leaning upon the bed of the queen. Yet he was condemned to be beheaded and quartered; a sentence which was executed on the seventeenth of May, without any confession either from him or from his companions in misfortune. Smeton, alone, passed into eternity, with the foul crime on his head of imputing guilt to an unhappy individual, whom all impartial historians appear to have concurred in pronouncing innocent.

While Anne Bullen fell a victim to the indulged passions of the king, her brother's ruin was effected by the blackest malignity that

ever disgraced the female heart. His wife, Lady Rochford, herself addicted to profligate pleasures, was his accuser, actuated by jealousy and hatred; and upon her allegations was founded the charge against her husband. The best justification of this accomplished nobleman, is the subsequent disgrace of his wretched wife, and the iniquitous business in which she was concerned with Catherine Howard and her associates. The disgusting charge against Rochford had not a shadow of truth to support it; and the compassion of posterity is divided between him and his sister. To the insinuations of Lady Rochford have been also assigned the first emotions of jealousy in the mind of Henry. But another account has been propagated by Meteren, which although founded upon hearsay authority, yet, bears the stamp of probability. "There was a gentlemen," says this historian, "who blamed his sister for her levity of conduct; the lady excused herself by saying that her conduct was correct compared with that of the queen, who admitted into her chamber, at improper hours, Lord Rochford, Smeton, and Brereton. Smeton, she said, could tell much more. This speech was quickly conveyed to the ears of the king." *

* *Meteren, Histoire du Pays Bas*, p. 21. *Burnet* accredited this account.

Still, great obscurity must ever rest upon this passage in the life of Henry. The minutes of the trial of Anne Bullen are supposed to have been carefully destroyed, but whether by the orders of her infuriated husband, or by those of her daughter, is still a question. It is possible that Mary, in her regard for her mother's memory, and in her hatred for Anne, may have obliterated those documents which, in all probability, would have proved her innocence.

While the king was meditating destruction to the life of his queen, he was also resolved, with an inconsistency peculiar to himself, to dissolve the marriage which had once been the object of his most ardent desires; and he resolved, not only to take away the life of the queen, but to divorce her, and to make her child illegitimate. This proceeding, which was prompted by the design of procuring the succession for the children of Jane Seymour, whom he intended to espouse after the death of Anne, was grounded on the supposed pre-contract between Anne and the young Lord Percy: but that nobleman, on being pressed to acknowledge such an engagement, denied it before the two archbishops, and received the sacrament upon it, wishing it to be his damnation if any such contract had existed. Anne, however, terrified perhaps at the possibility of the king's enforc-

ing the cruel sentence of burning (the legal punishment for a woman convicted of treason), was induced to confess the contract, at Lambeth, where she was examined before Cranmer, and several peers. Cranmer, whose subserviency to the king in all these proceedings cannot but be matter of regret and surprize, sent copies of the objections to the marriage both to the king and queen, and cited each to appear in his court. The trial was carried on with all the forms of justice; and Cranmer, who had already dissolved one marriage, now pronounced that between Henry and Anne null and void; and the young Elizabeth, consequently, illegitimate.* Such was the king's eagerness to destroy all conjugal bonds with a woman whom he had courted during six years with unremitting ardour, and who, scarcely a year before, had been led through the streets, with more than usual triumph and pomp, as his queen.

On the friendship of Cromwell, Anne Bullen had formerly placed dependence: but Cromwell, although possessed of great influence with the king, had seen too much of Wolsey's fortunes to interfere with the passions of a monarch,

* According to Lingard the real ground of this process was Henry's previous intimacy with Mary Bullen, the sister of Anne, which rendered the marriage invalid, on the same principle as that which annulled his union with Katharine of Arragon. *Lingard*, vol. vi. p. 322.

concerning whom it was too true, that he "never spared a woman in his lust, nor a man in his wrath." No friend, indeed, stepped forward to plead the cause of the unfortunate queen; and in those immediately around her, she found neither sympathy nor sincerity. Her father, of whom no exertions in her behalf and in that of her brother are recorded, appears to have submitted quietly to events which no parent could have witnessed without sufferings of the most aggravated description. The Lady Bullen, who remained with the queen during her imprisonment, upbraided her in her distress, and told her it was the "love of tale-bearers which had brought her to this." Her other female attendants were spies upon her conduct, and were placed about her for the express purpose of gathering any confession into which she might be betrayed. From Kingston she appears to have encountered a strict and unremitting scrutiny during her confinement in the Tower; but that he collected nothing from any of Anne's expressions that could criminate her, is obvious from all his letters, and especially from that which he addressed to Cromwell. "Regarding the arrangements for the queen's execution, I think," says he, "there will be but few (servants), and I think a reasonable number were best; for I suppose she will declare herself a good woman

for all men but for the king, at the hour of her death. For this morning she sent for me, that I might be with her at such time as she received the good lord, to the intent I should hear her speak as touching her innocency, alway to be clear. And in the writing of this she sent for me, and at my coming she said, 'Mr. Kingston, I hear say I shall not die aforenoon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I thought I should be dead by this time, and past my pain.' I told her, it should be no pain, it was so sottle. And then she said, "I heard say the executioner was very good, and I have a little neck;" and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have seen many men, and also women, executed, and that they have been in great sorrow; and to my knowledge this lady has much joy and pleasure in death. Sir, her almoner is continually with her, and had been since two o'clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing that is here at this time, and so fare you well.

Yours William Kingston.*

To the precautions which Kingston mentions in this letter, he adds the removal of all strangers from the Tower; a practice which may have been usual in cases of execution for high treason, otherwise it seems to imply that some danger of a rescue was anticipated.

* *Burnet.*

Anne, on the day before her death, was so strongly impressed, either with a conviction that the king would never proceed to the last extremity, or that the populace would take up her cause, that as she sat at dinner, she talked of going to Antwerp, and expressed strong hopes of life *; but this expectation was too soon proved to be fallacious. A little before noon, on the nineteenth of May, the execution of this unfortunate queen took place, in presence of an immense crowd. The Dukes of Suffolk and of Richmond, the lord chancellor, and Cromwell attended to witness her last moments. When on the scaffold, "I am come," she said, "to die, as I am judged by the law. I accuse none, nor say any thing of the ground upon which I am judged."† She then prayed heartily for the king, and "called him a most merciful and gentle prince," and said "that he had always been to her a good, gentle, sovereign lord; and that if any persons would meddle with her cause, she trusted they would judge the best." She then took her leave of those persons who were present, and of the world, and desired the prayers of those who

* *Ellis's Letters*, vol. ii. p. 63.

† It seems to have been a practice enjoined by confessors to culprits, to pass an eulogium upon the monarch when they suffered. In Anne's case, it was probably dictated by her adviser, the cautious Cranmer, for the sake of her daughter. *Ellis*, vol. ii. p. 66.

saw her, entreating her friends not to grieve for her death, but to pardon her that she had not always shewn them such kindness as her means had enabled her to do.* Her last words, after her devotions were concluded, were, "to Christ I commend my spirit." Her head was cut off by an executioner who was brought from Calais, on account of his dexterity in the sad office: and the body of this once idolized woman was thrown negligently into a common chest, made of elm-tree, and used for the purpose of keeping arrows; and was buried, before noon, in the chapel of the Tower.

Thus was ended a life of much celebrity, and of great importance in the annals of this country. As the cause of Henry's separation from Queen Katharine, Anne Bullen may be regarded as the immediate agent of the reformation in England. That great event, by a chain of co-operating circumstances, would doubtless have taken place, independent of any minor casualty; but the charms of Anne, in the eyes of her sovereign, brought the latent seeds into rapid growth. After her elevation, the whole force of her short influence was directed to promote the interests of those who favoured liberal notions of religion†;

* *Meteren*, p. 21.

† Anne undoubtedly promoted, as far as she could, the translation of the Testament. Her own copy of Tindal's Translation was bequeathed in 1799 to the British Museum, by the

and she was attended by a little court of eminent persons of the Protestant persuasion, among whom were Latimer and Shaxton, her chaplains. She was also a general patroness of learned men; and extended her charities to all who deserved assistance. Her liberality was unbounded; in nine months, during the last year of her life, according to Burnet, she bestowed between fourteen and fifteen thousand pounds in alms; and it was reported, that she had purposed raising a fund for the assistance of poor mechanics, who, from the patronage which was then bestowed on foreigners, were often in great distress from want of employment. But, perhaps, the most beautiful feature in the character of Anne Bullen, was the tenderness of conscience which she displayed during the last days of her imprisonment in the Tower; which leads to an inference, that, had she been guilty of greater sins, she would not have added to her guilt by a resolute denial. When the death of the queen was determined on, she made a strict review of her past life; and calling to mind that she had sometimes acted with severity towards her

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Rev. Clayton Mordaunt. See *Ellis's Original Letters*, vol. ii. p. 46. in which is a letter from Anne Bullen to Cromwell, desiring him to procure the freedom of an Antwerp merchant, who had been imprisoned by Wolsey, on account of his assisting the publication of the New Testament in England.

step-daughter, the Princess Mary, and had sought to injure her, she made Lady Kingston, after some persuasion, sit down in the chair of state, and falling on her knees before her, charged her, as she would answer for it to God, to do the same to the Lady Mary, and to ask her forgiveness for the wrongs she had received. This, she said, would quiet her conscience, which would not suffer her to die unforgiven of so great a dereliction of her duty as a mother and as a Christian. Mary however displayed the harsh and unrelenting spirit which afterwards characterized her as a queen; and the recollection of her early sorrows, occasioned by Anne, was never either forgotten or pardoned.*

With regard to the guilt or innocence of Anne Bullen, a diversity of opinions existed among her contemporaries, according to the tendency of their religious doctrines. By the Papists, she was designated as an infamous woman, whose early life in France was sullied by profligacy, and whose later years were such as might have been expected from a depraved and licentious career in youth. The originator of these statements, Nicholas Sanders, in his zeal for the Roman Catholic church, of which he was the able but unprincipled defender, has confounded the personal qualities of his opponents with the

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 371.

cause which he censured, and has forgotten, that the interests of a party can never be eventually promoted by injustice and falsehood.

Born in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and an occasional lecturer at New College, Oxford, in 1557, Sanders left England when the Protestant persuasion had recovered its ascendancy under the government of Queen Elizabeth, and, settling at Rome, was soon esteemed by the pontifical party as one of the most skilful disputants on their side. Being afterwards sent by the Pope as a nuncio into Ireland, and engaging with some Spaniards to raise discontents against the government among that inflammable people, Sanders and his party were detected by the English, and were forced to hide in woods and caves, until death put an end to his machinations and his misery. Of this event, different accounts have been given, some ascribing it to famine and cold, and others to a disease incident to those who are obliged to undergo great fatigues.* His work, "De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani," printed in 1585, was written to disparage the birth and parentage of Queen Elizabeth, and to add, unnecessarily, to the odium which Henry the Eighth has too justly incurred. It has become the storehouse of information for all those, who, considering Anne Bullen as the

* *Wood*, vol. i. pp. 205, 206.

powerful friend of the Protestant party, have delighted to load her memory with opprobrium. Some of his statements may have had just foundation, but they are asserted in such a tone of exaggeration, and are accompanied by so many direct and absurd falsehoods, that little faith ought to be assigned to them as historical evidences. Not contented with debasing the character of Anne Bullen, Sanders has traduced that of her mother; and has represented Lady Bullen as the mistress of the king, previous to the birth of her daughter; an assertion so obviously ridiculous, from the extreme youth of the king at that period, as to need no reply.

Opprobrium has been attached also by Cardinal Pole, to the character of Mary Bullen, the sister of Anne, although he admits the purity of Anne's connection with Henry, previous to their marriage. "She must needs be chaste," says he, "as she chose to be the king's wife rather than his mistress, but she must have known how soon he was sated with those who had belonged to him in the latter quality, and if she wanted other examples, her sister was enough." This allusion to Mary Bullen was still farther explained in a letter from Pole to the king, written soon after the death of Anne,

* *Phillips's Pole*, vol. i. p. 69.

in which "he reprobates Henry for pretending that a dispensation to marry his brother's wife was invalid, at the same time that he was seeking one to marry whose sister he had already corrupted." This accusation on the part of Pole was never rebutted by Henry, in any known written document; but it may have been answered by the king, although, as Pole was abroad at the time, the reply did not become public in this country.

It is asserted by Sanders, that Sir Thomas Bullen died of grief shortly after his daughter; but it appears, from the Heralds', Office, that his death did not take place until the year 1538. He remained even contentedly at court, and continued evidently in the favour of the king, for we find him deputed to bear the taper of virgin wax at the christening of Edward the Sixth.* This calm surrender of the life and reputation of a daughter to the will of a tyrant, without one struggle to avert her fate, or one effort to rescue her memory from contempt, combined with the indifference with which Elizabeth, through a long and prosperous reign, forbore to vindicate her mother by a written defence, affords, indeed, the only grounds for believing that Anne was really the abandoned character in which Henry wished her to appear.

* *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. 5.

These circumstances have staggered the faith even of those who have been most inclined to regard Anne Bullen as innocent, and certainly throw upon her character an air of doubt, which probably the investigations of future historians may contribute to dispel.

Before the narrative of Anne Bullen's fate is concluded, it is necessary to make some comments upon that part of her conduct, which is said to have referred to Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet.

At the time of her disgrace, a temporary suspension in the favour which the king bore towards Wyatt, certainly occurred; and this circumstance, added to other apparent coincidences, has given rise to a notion, that Wyatt was suspected of a criminal passion for the queen. The popish writers have, indeed, asserted that Wyatt confessed to Henry an illicit intercourse with Anne previous to the marriage of the king, and endeavoured to dissuade him from raising her to the throne.* The falsehood of this statement is evident, because such a proof of her guilt would have been too valuable to an enraged husband, not to have been legally brought against her, when she had become the object of his detestation.

There can be little doubt, from various corro-

* *Phillips's Life of Pole*, also *Nott's Wyatt*, from *Harpsfield* and *Hearne*.

borating facts, that the verses which Wyatt addressed to "Anna," were written in honour of Anne Bullen, in the same spirit with which Surrey eulogized his fair and relentless Geraldine, and in which Petrarch addressed an object who was cold and indifferent whilst he penned the warmest effusions of poetic fervour. That Anne Bullen furnished the muse of Wyatt with a subject, rather than his heart with a mistress, is therefore possible; and the attachment was probably only of the Platonic kind. That Wyatt, however, incurred some degree of risk during the troubles which Anne encountered, appears from one of his sonnets, in which he speaks of the danger which once threatened him in May, the very month in which Anne Bullen suffered; and in another he laments the death of his mistress. There is reason also to suppose, that however Anne might check or avoid the expression of Wyatt's attachment, as she appears from his poems to have done, she did not despise his verses; for, in a letter from Sir William Kingston, describing her conduct during her confinement, he speaks of her mentioning Wyatt's poetical abilities with commendation.* A tradition long remained in the family of Wyatt that a sister of the poet had attended Anne Bullen at the awful moment of her execution; and a manuscript prayer book,

* *Cottonian MSS. Otho.* C. X.

set in gold, enamelled black, was retained in the family, and valued as the parting pledge of affection, given by Anne Bullen to her sorrowing attendant, with a smile which evinced at once the native sweetness of her character, and her resignation to her fate.* The Wyatt family long, too, resented the calumnious aspersions of Sanders upon Anne; and one of that ancient house prepared an answer to his defamatory assertions, which has been recently published from the manuscript of Sir Roger Twysden.† Such are the grounds upon which a belief has been established, that a romantic and hopeless passion was cherished towards Anne Bullen by Wyatt; but it must be allowed, that although the enthusiastic attachment of so celebrated a man would add greatly to the interest naturally excited by Anne's affecting story, yet, that there is no proof of its existence, sufficiently solid, to render it a matter of history.

When we consider the prosperity of the unfortunate Anne Bullen, intoxicated with the dazzling splendour of her situation as a queen, and with the admiration which she excited as a woman, and compare with this exalted condition the degradation which attended the last days of her career, the simple lines of the poet Church-

* *Nott's Life of Wyatt.*

† See *Singer's Cavendish*, vol. ii.

yard in his pathetic "Story of Jane Shore*," appear singularly applicable.

"They frowned on me that fawned on me before,
They hated me by whom I set much store;
They knew full well my fortune dyd not last,
In every place I was condemn'd and caste;
To plead my cause at barre it was no boote,
For every man dyd tread me under foote."

It has been well remarked by numerous historians, that the best justification of Queen Anne Bullen was the immediate marriage of Henry to her successor, Jane Seymour, in the course of the very week in which Anne suffered decapitation; the king having first testified his indifference to the horrible events which had just occurred, by wearing white for mourning on the day following the execution of the late queen.†

While many persons regretted the death of Anne, and commiserated her sufferings, there was one individual who considered that event as an interposition of Providence in her own favour: this was the Princess Mary, of whose condition it is necessary to take a slight review, in order to show how far it might be influenced by the melancholy fate of her step-mother.

The situation of this young princess had partaken of those vicissitudes to which all who were connected with her capricious father,

* Who lived until the 18th year of Henry the Eighth.

† See *Mirror for Magistrates*, first published in 1559.

were peculiarly liable. In the days of her infancy, she had, of course, been treated with the honours of an heir-apparent; and in 1525, when in her tenth year, a complete household had been formed for her and regulated by Wolsey, at the same time that he established a household for the Duke of Richmond: but it appears, that the liberal allowance granted for the use of the young princess, was of short duration, for we find her, afterwards, reduced to an income of forty pounds a quarter, which fell far short of her expences. In a letter to Cromwell, she intercedes for an increase of this pitiful income, especially, she says, during the Christmas quarter, when the charges are greater than at other seasons.* She appears also very grateful to the king, after the death of Anne Bullen, for the present of a fine horse, which was the more acceptable, as before its arrival she had no means of riding out, unless she borrowed a steed from a faithful servant in her household. Besides this limitation, the poor princess was made, in another sense, to eat the bitter bread of humility, being commanded to resign the title of Princess of Wales to her sister, the young Elizabeth; a concession which her proud spirit could not brook, and which it led her strenuously to resist; nor would she ever accord any

* See *Sylloge in Hearne's Titus Livius.*

other appellation to her infant rival, than that of sister.

Idolized in the early part of her life as an only child, and depressed when her advancing years rendered her sensible of unkindness, it is not extraordinary that the character of Mary should have partaken of the violence of her father, mixed with the inflexible resolution and melancholy temper of her mother. She appears, indeed, to have resembled the latter in some of her private virtues. Her character for propriety and modesty ever remained unsullied; and her devoted conjugal affection, strong like the affection of Katharine for her husband, proved, also, like that of her mother, a source of deep misery. In person, as well as in disposition, Mary was little calculated to excite paternal pride: her figure was diminutive, her dark eyes were not softened by feminine sweetness nor cheerfulness; and her countenance, at an early age, began to express all which sorrow and care had wrought within. Her health, too, was indifferent, and on that account it was the natural and earnest wish of Queen Katharine that she should have been permitted to reside near her. To have had her daughter as a resident under her roof, seems to have been a felicity which the unhappy mother could never dare to anticipate, although she says in a letter to Cromwell, that her sole desire was

to have the princess with her, because a "little comfort and mirth which she would take with me, would be a halfe healthe to her."* "Let then (for my love)," continues the queen, "that this may yet be done." Yet Henry had the cruelty to refuse the request.

The disadvantages of bad health and of an insignificant person, which are of some importance in those upon whom the attention of the public is directed, were not, in the young princess, accompanied by the still greater deficiency of an imbecile mind. Mary possessed an acute intellect, which had been sedulously cultivated by her mother, who was her instructress in Latin, until after the divorce.† In addition to this language, Mary spoke the French and Spanish tongues, and understood the Italian; and the fluency with which, when raised to the throne, she replied to the foreign ambassadors, excited their surprize and approbation. But her good sense was obscured, at a very early age, by prejudice; and a sullen tenacity in any favourite opinion became the leading feature of her mind. Cromwell, who appears, on one occasion, to have totally lost his temper in his communications

* *Hearne's Titus Livius Sylloge*, p. 108.

† See, in Ellis's Letters, an epistle from Katharine to her daughter, in which she speaks of Mary as changing from her (as an instructor) to Maister Federston.

with the princess, tells her, that he thinks her one of the most "obstinate and obdurate women, all things considered, that ever was*;" a description which her subsequent conduct fully verified. The oppressed, when power is given them, ever become persecutors; and it was probably the rigour which chilled her youthful spirits, that afterwards formed Mary into a tyrant. Whether her conduct were instigated by her mother, or whether it were the result of a mind naturally firm and courageous, it displayed a degree of inflexibility which rarely occurs at so early a period of life. Until the death of Anne Bullen, she resolutely denied the validity of that sentence which had pronounced her illegitimate, although aware that the king was perpetually irritated by her refusal to give up her rights. When, however, she found that a vicissitude similar to her own was likely to befall the young Elizabeth, Mary, who perhaps hoped that no children might ensue from the king's third marriage, wrote to her father, entreating him to restore her to his paternal regard, and declaring that she "would rather a thousand fold be in the room of a chamberer, to have the fruition of his presence, than to live in the degree of an empress to want the same." The king declared himself willing enough to be reconciled

* *Hearne.*

to her, provided she would agree to seven articles, which he proposed to her through the Duke of Norfolk; purporting that she acknowledged the invalidity of her mother's marriage. To this, Mary for some time objected: she was, however, at last induced to sign a confession, in which she submitted herself entirely to the king's pleasure, acknowledging him as supreme head of the church, and declaring that the marriage between the king and her "mother, the late princess dowager, was, by God's law, and man's law, incestuous and unlawful." This concession, which produced peace for some time in the royal family, was conjectured to be in part the result of some hopes which Mary now entertained of espousing the Duke of Orleans; this marriage having been a subject of discussion between the French ambassadors and Henry, who intended at that time to bring over the young duke to England, in order to learn the customs and manners of this country, previous to his union with the princess.*

The condition of the infant Elizabeth partook of the same vicissitudes with that of her sister.

On the meeting of parliament, which was held on the 8th of June, the chancellor, Lord Audley, on addressing the house, stated that

* *Strype*, vol. i.

" the king had two reasons for summoning a " new parliament. That finding himself subject " to many infirmities, and considering that he " was mortal, he desired to settle an heir to the " crown, in case he should die without children " lawfully begotten. He wished also for a repeal " of the former act of parliament, by which the " succession was fixed upon the issue of his " marriage with Queen Anne. He enjoined the " parliament to reflect upon the troubles and " vexation in which the king had been involved " by his first unlawful marriage, and the dangers " he was in by a second, which might well " enough have frightened any one from entering " upon a third marriage. But Anne and her " conspirators being put to death, as they well " deserved, the king, at the humble request of " the nobility, and not from any carnal con- " cupiscence, was pleased to marry a prin- " cess, by whom he might have hopes of chil- " dren. He therefore recommended them to " provide an heir to the crown, in case the king " died without lawful issue."*

In pursuance of these commands, a bill was passed without opposition through both houses, repealing the former act of succession; confirming both the divorces, and the attainder of Queen Anne, and assigning the succession to

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 382.

the issue of Queen Jane, or to the children of any other wife whom the king might afterwards choose to marry. With regard to the succession, in case of failure of the natural heirs of the king, this very complaisant parliament gave full power to Henry "to declare it by letters patent, or by his will, and promised all faithful obedience to the persons so named by him. And all such as maintained the legitimacy of either of the former marriages, or refused to swear to the king's issue by Queen Jane, were declared traitors." This act, which affords an extraordinary instance of the power which Henry possessed over his parliaments, had the effect of pacifying the mind of the emperor, since it was not impossible that his niece, Mary, might succeed to the crown, by the king's will and pleasure; and it, probably, induced the princess herself to conform more readily to the wishes of her father, than she had done hitherto. Her sister also, who was now placed upon a level with herself, was no longer an object of bitter envy and heart-burning to the depressed and unfortunate Mary. Indeed, a sisterly affection seems at this period to have been displayed, if not actually felt, by Mary towards her sister, by occasional gifts and other trifling attentions.

Elizabeth appears, in her infancy, to have been

possessed of many engaging qualities, which procured her friends, even among the interested, and, therefore, uncertain dependants upon royalty; while the amiable Jane Seymour, with a foretaste of that maternal tenderness which she was not destined long to experience towards her own infant, treated her youngest step-daughter with affection and kindness, in which the king joined. Educated under the charge of the Lady Margaret Brian, who had performed the same office to the other children of the king, Elizabeth remained at Hunsdon, where she had been placed before the death of her mother. Upon that event, a difficulty arose with regard to the management of the household regulations of the young princess, and to the state which it was suitable to maintain about her. In a letter to Cromwell from Lady Brian, she alludes to the alteration in the degree of her young charge, of which, she says, she heard only by report. After complaining that no mourning has been provided for Elizabeth, on her mother's account, she wisely objects to a proposition of the house steward, that a board of state should be provided for so young a child. "Alas! my lord," says this discreet preceptress, "it is not meet for a child of her age to keep such rule yet. I promise you, my lord, I dare not take it upon me to keep her in health, and

she keep that rule. For there she shall see divers fruits, and meats, and wine, which would be hard for me to restrain her grace from it. Ye know, my lord, there is no place of correction there, and she is too young yet to correct greatly. Wherefore I shew your lordship this my desire, beseeching you, my lord, that my lady may have a mess of meat to her own lodging, with a good dish or two, that is meet for her grace to eat of. And the reversion of the mess shall satisfy all her women, a gentleman usher, and a groom; which been eleven persons." In another part of this letter, Lady Brian declares, that although on account of the young lady's great pain in cutting her teeth, she was allowed to have more of her will than was convenient for her good, yet that she was a child of as gentle conditions as any child she knew.* This letter was written after Elizabeth had attained her third year; by which it appears, that, whatever real changes had been produced in the condition of Elizabeth, her external comforts had not been proportioned to her reduced fortunes, since a table of state was in contemplation for her. These indulgences, also, prove, that the king, notwithstanding the destruction of her mother, still cherished the child, whose remarkable forwardness was even attested by

* *Strype's Mem.* Appendix; No. xxxii.

her sister, who calls her a "toward darling." Wriothesley, afterwards chancellor, describes Elizabeth having at this early age the gravity and sense of forty. "If she be no worse educated," says he in a letter to the king, "than she now appeareth to me, she will prove of no less honour to womanhood than beseemeth her father's daughter."*

1536. The death of Anne Bullen was not the only act of tyranny which Henry committed during this year. Lord Thomas Howard, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, for having married the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Queen of Scotland, and niece to the king, was committed to the Tower, where he died after two years' imprisonment, according to some accounts, of poison, but with more probability of a broken heart. As Brandon had contracted a similar alliance without giving offence, the conduct of Henry towards Lord Thomas Howard must have been the effect of personal dislike. The Lady Margaret, who afterwards became the mother of the celebrated Lord Darnley, was liberated upon the death of Lord Thomas, but was not immediately restored to the favour of the king.†

* *Hearne, Titus Livius, Sylloge*, p. 149.

† *Watt's Surrey*, p. 35. *Hall*, p. 818.

CHAP. VII.

Cromwell as Vicegerent continues the visitation of the Monasteries. — Provision made for the discharged Monks and Nuns. — Other proceedings in religious affairs. — English Translations of the Bible. — Affairs relative to the Reformation on the Continent. — Discontents at home. — Insurrection in Lincolnshire.

WHILE cares and vicissitudes disturbed the domestic concerns of Henry, the progress of the Reformation throughout the kingdom had been perceptibly advanced, with scarcely an obstacle to check its course. Cromwell, who had gained an ascendancy over the mind of Henry scarcely inferior to that which Wolsey had exercised, had proved a powerful supporter of the new doctrines. The regal supremacy having already been acknowledged by the bishops, who were seconded by the universities, the king, although some opposition had been offered to his supremacy, yet resolved to exercise that authority with which his submissive parliaments had invested him. For this purpose, he appointed Cromwell

1535. 1536.

his vicegerent, or vicar-general, an office little inferior in honour and power to that which Wolsey, as legate, had formerly exercised. In this capacity Cromwell was invested with entire authority in religious affairs; and he was empowered not only to visit, and to correct all abuses, but to superintend the conduct of the bishops and archbishops, of whom he took precedence in convocation. This important charge was placed in energetic and courageous hands; and Cromwell, whose talents for business were aided by an inflexible firmness and perseverance in whatever he undertook, determined to follow up the good work which Wolsey had commenced, but which yet required much activity and exertion in its completion. In the further suppression of the monasteries, the projects of Cromwell were encouraged by one Dr. Layton, or Leghton, who had served with him in the household of Wolsey, and who had, like himself, imbibed some of the enlarged views, which their common master had entertained. It was at first suggested by Layton, in a letter addressed to Cromwell concerning this undertaking, that it might be expedient to defer it for a few years, until the supremacy of the king were fairly established; but this opinion, which did not originate from Layton, but was suggested to him by others, was not approved, and the visita-

tion was commenced in the autumn of the year 1535. Several commissioners were appointed for this purpose, and the inquisition they exercised was directed by Layton chiefly to the following inquiries: — whether the assembled members of each house acknowledged individually the supremacy of Henry, and allowed the title of the Pope to be no other than that of bishop of Rome, with no greater power than that which any other bishop might exercise in his respective diocese: whether, in their sermons, the preachers of each convent wrested any text of scripture into a perverted sense: whether these discourses were orthodox and catholic; and whether the rule of the house were sufficiently explained by the abbot or some of the brethren daily. After these general examinations, a strict scrutiny was enjoined into the wealth and revenues of each monastery, the rules and observances required of the recluses, the disposal of benefices, and the moral conduct of the monks and priors. The visitors, besides this inquisition, were empowered to punish refractory or disobedient conduct, and were directed to report more serious offences to Cromwell. The principal commissioners were Layton, Dr. Lee, and London; and, accompanied by other visitors, they quickly began their obnoxious, but necessary proceedings.

In the exercise of their powers, although their instructions were framed upon the same plan as a legatine visitation, and were composed with a spirit of moderation and equity which evinced their origin from the wise and temperate Cranmer, the conduct of the visitants was yet censured as harsh and oppressive: nor is it improbable that this may have been the case, since power vested in an individual for some temporary purpose is rarely exerted with moderation. It must also be observed, that the authority entrusted to the commissioners was, on this occasion, attended with peculiar circumstances, the bishops being prohibited from the exercise of their power during the royal visitation; a proceeding quite unprecedented, and equally unjust and hazardous.*

The state of morals in most of the religious houses, as they were called, was, however, such as to reconcile the mind of the public to the arbitrary measures of the king. Every species of the grossest profligacy appears to have been practised, not only by the monks and nuns, but by the abbots and prioresses, who should, by discipline and example, have restrained such excesses. In many of the convents, the rule upon which they were originally founded was utterly neglected, and had almost become ex-

* See *Strype*, vol. i. p. 321.

tinct; and on its enforcement by the visitors, the monks declared, in some instances, that they preferred the suppression of the monastery, to a compliance with what was impracticable and absurd. Noel, in his Reproof, a work for which he suffered martyrdom in the days of Queen Mary, thus speaks of these institutions: "Let the horrible history of their dark, dreadful, and most devilish doings, notified to King Henry the Eighth, and after to the parliament house, by the report of the visitors returning from their visitations of abbeys; and the monks and nuns themselves in their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, be a proof thereof. Which, being registered in a black book, might more justly be called doomsday than any record this day remaining in England." Of the iniquities which the privacy of a monastery, its indolent life, and the contiguity of its members encouraged and secured, was added a more complete disclosure, than in preceding investigations, of the gross and absurd superstitions which, supported by large communities in concert, had long been successfully maintained.

The list of relics found in the monastery of Reading, and enumerated by London, one of the visitors, in a letter to Cromwell, contains a detail of monastic machinery. "I have sent

up," says he, "the principal relics of idolatry within this realm; an angel with one wing is brought to Caversham; the spear-head that pierced our Saviour's side upon the cross; I have also three coats of the image, with such things as I found upon them." The inventory accompanying this epistle runs thus: —

Imprimis:

Two pieces of the holy cross,
St. James's hand,
St. Phillips's stole,
A bone of Mary Magdalene, with other mo,
St. Anastasius's hand, with other mo,

and so on, with a list of the bones of other saints. From Glastonbury Abbey, the following treasures were extracted: — "First, two flowers, wrapped in white and black sarcenet, that on Christen mas even, on the hour that Christ was born, will spring, and burgen, and bare blossoms; also, in a bag of relics, God's coat, or ladie's smock, part of God's supper, in cœna Domini, pars petræ, super qua natus erat Jesus in Bethlehem." These are but specimens of innumerable impostures, curious and amusing to a cursory view, but tedious in detail.*

Besides a profligacy of manners, which the commissioners found to prevail in the majority of convents, a degree of luxury was enjoyed by their

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 380.

inhabitants, which served as a far greater inducement to a monastic life than religious motives. The repasts of the monks were prepared with a lavish hand, and resembled a modern banquet much more than the meal of the humble and self-denying devotee. At the monastery of St. Alban's fifty-three farms, every one of which was valued at forty-six shillings per annum, were devoted to the kitchen. Provisions were brought from London, and nine carriers appointed to convey them to the abbey, which had a house also at Yarmouth, to lay up salt fish. The dinner was served upon plate, which was carried up an ascent of fifteen steps, to the abbot's table, the monks, it is true, enduring the tantalizing penance of making a pause, and singing a hymn at every fifth step. At Canterbury and Peterborough, the prior had usually repasts consisting of sixteen dishes, besides intermeats; a vessel half full of wine was brought in, its flavour was made the subject of discussion, and the preference usually adjudged to the most potent. Various kinds of strong liquors were used; and claret, piment, mead, and other beverages regaled the jovial churchmen. The dishes consisted of fish, dressed in different ways; eggs, exquisitely made dishes, birds, and savoury, salted meats to provoke appetite. The flesh of quadrupeds was prohibited, under the notion that it had been cursed by

God, but it was offered to visitors, whose consciences were not supposed to be so delicate as those of their hosts. The most idle and licentious discourse frequently prevailed at these tables, where women of loose character were introduced, in order to enliven the scene of luxury.*

In none of these establishments do greater opportunities of luxury and enjoyment appear to have been centered, than in the great monastery of Furness, in Lancashire, surrendered in 1537. The monks of that convent lived like nobles around the court of the monarch †; their abbot was a petty prince in his territory, a ness, or nase of land which nature had singularly protected on the north and south by dangerous quicksands, on the west by St. George's Channel, and on the east by the Fells of Furness, which were covered until the thirteenth century by woods. No sheriffs were permitted to enter this privileged spot, no tolls were exacted within these hallowed precincts, and none were allowed to molest the abbot or any of his tenants, under

* See *Fosbrooke Monasticon*, p. 299.

† They were Grey Monks, of the order of St. Savigny, under the rule of St. Benedict; their dress, a white or grey cassock, with caul and scapulary; a girdle of black wool, and over that a rochet, the front part of which descended to the girdle, where it ended in a round, and the back part reached to the middle of the leg behind. *West, Antiquities of Furness*, p. 51.

a penalty of ten pounds. Secured from all interference, and emancipated from the censure and inspection of the public eye, which are useful to the preservation of virtue, the monks of Furness had every means within their own domains of gratifying luxurious appetites, and of promoting pleasure. The forests of Furness abounded with the buck, the doe, the wild boar, and the legh, or large deer. The moors teemed with the red-game, or grouse, and the mutton fed on the Fells of Furness is asserted to have been peculiarly excellent, from the sprouts of the holly trees, which grow in abundance in that district. The convent was also supplied with wheat from the fields of Plain Furness, which was celebrated for its corn-fields. The abbots of Furness were provided with the means of purchasing such commodities as were not furnished by the monastic lands, by the large revenues from the iron mines in their vicinity, of which they had the sole management and profit; and sometimes considerable gains were derived from the wrecks occurring on the coasts, to which the monastery of Furness had the sole right, in their district. The monks had enjoyments too, which, however unsuitable to their profession, were eagerly sought by all the larger conventual establishments, throughout the kingdom. Besides the possession of a breed of

hawks, they had free chase throughout Furness; and that border territory, famous for its huntsmen, as often rang with the echoes of the abbot's hounds, as with those of the secular sportsmen, who gained strength and manly activity in that animated diversion. Besides this privilege, the abbey possessed large paddocks; and an enclosure, called the Deer-park, is still to be traced near the present ruins of the monastery. The building, situated in a deep narrow vale, of which it occupied almost the entire breadth, was surrounded by a strong stone wall, which enclosed the abbey mills, its stews for receiving fish, its kilns, and its ovens; while the luxurious vale, stretching down towards the south, was watered with rivulets which were easily convertible into fish-ponds. With all these means of comfort and amusement, the monks of Furness could not be satisfied without seeking pleasures which could be gratified only at the expence of conscience, and with the violation of their rule. They were, therefore, strictly examined in 1537, and this abbey, the second in magnitude belonging to the Cistercian monks, and the next in riches to Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire, was surrendered into the hands of the king.*

* Furness Abbey was founded by King Stephen: its tenement and lands were afterwards bestowed upon the Duke of

While such were the inordinate luxuries and general manners of the convents, some exceptions were found, and were recorded by the visitors as deserving commendation and mercy. At the monastery of Wolstrope, the abbot is described as a "right honest man, having about him right religious persons," who passed their time in ingenious and useful occupations. The house afforded a resort for a number of poor people in the neighbourhood, and was supported upon the revenues of a very small portion of lands, compared with the majority of the convents, which had monopolized almost all the advowsons and tithes in the kingdom.* The nunnery of Catesby, in Northamptonshire, was proved, as the visitors reported to Cromwell, to be in excellent order and rule: the prioress, a wise and religious woman, having a small and well regulated nunnery under her controul.

But the number of the innocent and useful communities was comparatively small, and in most of the monastic institutions vice reigned unchecked and undismayed.† The degraded members of these dens of iniquity could not be happy; and, in many instances, monks, weary

Albemarle, by Charles the Second, it reverted finally to the Dutchesses of Montague and of Manchester, co-heiresses of the Duke of Montague. *West*, p. 144.

* *West*, p. 68. † *Strype*, vol. i. p. 393.

of a dissolute and idle life, entreated the visitors to free them from their religious vows, and to restore them to society. The greater part of the convents were willingly surrendered: the abbots and abbesses were conscious that their conduct would not bear inspection, and hoped, by a voluntary submission, to save a part of their property.

As the sudden dissolution of these establishments would undoubtedly occasion much misery to many poor families who depended upon them for support, some of them were spared; and Bishop Latimer, among others, recommended that two or three of the well-regulated convents should be assigned in every diocese for the maintenance of hospitality and charity: among those which were specified as deserving of this appropriation, was the priory of Great Malvern, in Worcestershire, "the abbot of which is old," says Latimer in a letter to Cromwell, "he feedeth many, and that daily."* The lands and revenues of the monasteries were disposed of in various ways. Petitions were preferred by individuals, entreating to share the conventual spoils: and Lord Audley, the chancellor, derived considerable wealth from the surrender of Christ Church in Aldgate. The chancellor, who loved money, was judicious in choosing Christ Church

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 409.

as his portion. That ancient monastery for regular canons, was one of the richest institutions of the kind in Middlesex, the prior being always an alderman of London, and riding in procession as such, although in the habit of a spiritual person. The dissolution of this priory succeeded that of the forty smaller monasteries, at the distance of six years, and was probably intended as a test of the popular opinions before the commencement of a visitation. The surrender was compromised between the king and the prior, who was commended for his hospitality, and to whom higher preferment, the particulars of which are not recorded, was promised, and it was thought that the dispersion of the canons among other convents, might serve as warnings to others of their impending fate, and as examples of obedience. The inhabitants of Aldgate bore this innovation quietly, and suppressed their murmurs, although they were for some time deprived by it of their parish church; but when Lord Audley offered the holy edifice to any one who would agree to take it down, and to clear away the materials, the temper of the people was plainly evinced by their abstaining to touch the building; and the Chancellor incurred more expence in the demolition of the steeple and priory, than he was afterwards repaid by the materials. The monastery at Saffron Walden was also a gift to this rising

favourite, and he built upon its site a stately family mansion.*

Another individual, who afterwards obtained partly as a present, partly as a purchase, the possession of Ramsey Abbey, owed his good fortune to the admiration which Henry always evinced of military prowess. Shortly after the subsequent dissolution of the Knights Hospitallers, Richard Williams, or Cromwell, an esquire, proclaimed a joust, to which he challenged all comers from France, Flanders, Scotland and Spain. It was expected that the Knights of St. John would appear on this occasion in vindication of their honour, if they thought by the late measures they had suffered injury; but they absented themselves, probably fearing the presence of Henry, who was one of the spectators; and they were, besides, bound by the laws of their order to fight only against infidels. The jousts, however, passed off with brilliant success on the part of Cromwell; and he was instantly dubbed a knight by the king, who, according to a tradition in the family, said to him, "Thou wast my Dick, but now shalt thou be my diamond," and presented him with a diamond ring. As a memorial of this anecdote, which is truly characteristic of Henry the Eighth, the family of Cromwell have ever since borne for

* *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 307.

their crest a lion holding a diamond ring in his paw.*

A request far more commendable than the selfish demands of Audley, was made by the patriotic Sir Richard Gresham, who was Mayor of London, in the course of this reign. This worthy citizen, in a letter to Cromwell, intreated that the spittals, or hospitals of Saint Mary, Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Thomas, might be reserved as receptacles for the sick and infirm, and placed under the superintendance of the mayor and aldermen of London; a plan which was adopted, and to which we now owe the existence of those valuable institutions.†

Parliament, which met on March 4th, 1536, passed a bill, which granted to the crown all monastic institutions below the yearly value of two hundred pounds, with a clause for preserving the interests of the patrons or founders, such as rents, annuities, and other sources of revenue. It appears singular that the rapacious hands of the king should not have seized upon the larger and richer abbeys, in which, it might have been supposed, a greater degree of corruption prevailed, in proportion to the opportunities of

* *Stowe*, p. 580.

† See *Strype*, vol. i. p. 409.

It was in the reign of Henry, in 1544, that the dignity of the Lord Mayor was first enhanced by the addition of a gold chain to the rest of his dress. *Baker's Chronicle*, p. 315.

undetected vice, which great communities afford. The preamble to this act, speaks in commendation of the larger monasteries, and designates the lesser convents as chiefly meriting suppression. This, however, was a measure of prudence. The larger abbeys had representatives in parliament, who sat there as lords, to the number of twenty-six; it would, therefore, have been dangerous, even with the controul which Henry possessed over the votes of both houses, to have attempted so powerful a body, on whose voices the suppression of the smaller convents in a great degree depended.

By these measures, the king reaped sufficient wealth to put him in good humour with the plan, and with its contrivers. Three hundred and seventy-six religious houses were dissolved, and a revenue of thirty-two thousand pounds was added to the exchequer.* More than a hundred houses were spared, or were refounded by the king's letters patent, upon surrendering a portion of their possessions to the crown †: and by a provision in the act, these houses were enjoined to maintain hospitality, under the penalty of a fine to the king.

Of the ultimate benefits of the proceedings which have been described, scarcely any individual possessed of common sense can entertain

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 114. † *Lingard*, vol. vi. p. 306.

a doubt, although their immediate results, like those of all important changes, occasioned much temporary inconvenience, and engendered some mischief. Ten thousand persons, whose habits of life had rendered them unfit for labour, were now let loose upon society, to increase want and to promote discontent; and the general provision for those persons thus thrown upon the world was far from liberal, considering the great profits accruing to the king from their dispersion. Such of the monastic profession as had taken the vows before the age of twenty-four were discharged and released from their oaths, and those who had assumed the conventual garb after that age were allowed to remove to the larger religious houses, or to change their condition for any temporal calling. The monks who had the rank of priests were supplied with a dress, and with forty shillings in money; while the nuns, whose condition was more helpless than that of the monks, were furnished only with a gown. Some exceptions were made to these regulations in favour of those houses which had surrendered willingly; several of these establishments had even pensions allowed them, and were permitted to retain benefices, the presentation of which had formerly belonged to their respective houses.*

These proceedings were followed by others

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 403.

equally favourable to the Reformation. Among those benefits which Henry conferred upon his kingdom, the translation of the Bible into English is pre-eminent in importance and utility, and claims particular attention.

A correct translation of the Bible into the English tongue had been for some time earnestly desired by the majority of the reformers in this country. Before the time of Wickliffe, there had been no entire English version of the scriptures: the writers who had engaged in the useful office of rendering the scriptures intelligible to all ranks, having been contented with the translation of the psalter, of certain lessons for particular days, or of portions merely of the New Testament. About the year 1384, Wickliffe completed his version, which he translated from the Latin vulgate then in use, because he was not sufficiently acquainted with the Greek and Hebrew languages to render the Bible into English from the original.* According to Sir Thomas More, Wickliffe was guilty of deception in the publication of this useful work as his own, having merely corrupted the version of a much earlier and more orthodox translator, and assumed the entire merit of that production to himself: but this assertion is fully proved to have been erro-

* *Lewis's History of the English Translations of the Bible*, p. 17.

neous.* By the disciples of Wickliffe several manuscript translations were indeed made upon a plan which cannot be sufficiently condemned; not adhering strictly to the literal meaning of the words, but translating them so as to accord with the general sense of certain passages. Some of these versions are still to be seen in the libraries of Lambeth Palace, of Queen's College, Oxford, and in the Bodleian collection.†

The necessity for some assistance to divinity students, from the correction and translations of the scriptures, had not been disputed, even in the time of Wickliffe, by the clergy most opposed to the doctrines of the Lollards. Before the commendable exertions of Wickliffe, the greatest scarcity, even of the Latin vulgate, prevailed; and when Fitzralph, Archbishop of Armagh, in 1357, sent over three or four secular priests of his diocese to study divinity at Oxford, they were obliged to return because they could not find a Bible there to be sold. In addition to this inconvenience, it was found, by those who had the ability and the inclination to investigate such matters, that even the Latin version, the perusal of which was considered by the learned as their peculiar privilege, was full of errors.‡ But a more enlightened period was fast ap-

* *Lewis*, p. 41. † Ibid. pp. 29, 30.

‡ *Lewis*, pp. 53, 54.

proaching; and the printing of the Hebrew Bible, in 1488, and that of the Greek Testament at Basil, thirty years afterwards, favoured the exertions of those who were disposed to unveil the scriptures, and to display them, in all their original purity and sublimity, to the view of the pious and inquiring Christian. On the other hand, the monks, the advocates of darkness, declaimed against "this *new* language "called the Greek, which produced all the "heresies which had recently sprung up; and "complained that in this age there had come "forth a book called the New Testament, which "was now in every body's hands, and was full "of thorns and briars; and that there was also "another new language started up called the "Hebrew." * To dispel these injurious prejudices, Tindall resolved to make a translation of the New Testament from the original Greek and Hebrew; and completing his labours in 1536, had published his English Bible at Antwerp, with a "pistil" annexed to it, in which he desired "those who were learned to amende, if oughte were founde amisse." To this translation great defects were ascribed even by some of the Protestants, and the Catholics railed against it without mercy. The expressions adopted by Tindall are said to have conveyed

* *Lewis*, p. 55.

very inadequately the sublimity and beauty of the text; and he is accused of having debased his version by familiar phrases, which were, however, conformable to the simple language and homely denominations frequently used in the writings of that period.

On the authority of Fuller, a copy of Tindall's translation, said to have contained the words, "Paul, a knave* of Jesus Christ," has long been an object of research to the curious; but is now believed never to have belonged to any edition published by Tindall.† Tindall, however, acknowledged his translation to be full of errors, which "lack of help, or oversight," had occasioned; and he may justly be excused upon the plea adopted by the famous Father Simon, who declares, that "the life of one man is not sufficient to make an exact translation of the scriptures."‡ Tindall received, however, but little consideration from the zealous Romanists, among whom Sir Thomas More was foremost, who taxed him with intentional errors, in rendering the word "priest" into "senior," "church" into "congregation," "contrite heart" into "troubled heart," "charity" into "love," "grace" into "favour;" and with changing the word "confession" into "acknowledging," "pe-

* "Knave," an old word for apprentice or servant.

† *Lewis*, p. 49. ‡ Ibid. p. 62.

nance" into "repentance," so that the people might be led to believe that there were no such articles of faith specified in scripture as he wished to destroy. To these accusations Tindall replied, that "there was not so much as an *i* in his book, if it lacked a little over its head, but it had been noted and numbered unto the people as an heresy." To give satisfaction, however, to all parties, it became essential to have an entire translation of the Bible, authorized by government, and emanating from the very source of orthodoxy.

When the translation of the Bible by Tindall was prohibited during the primacy of Warham, and burned by order of the king, Henry had intimated his intention of allowing a new version in the vulgar tongue. Cranmer, desirous of improving upon this suggestion, moved in convocation for a petition to the king for a new translation, but was opposed by Gardiner, whose arguments would probably have had considerable weight with Henry, had not the influence of Anne Bullen been directed to serve the Protestant cause. That unfortunate queen valued the inestimable benefits afforded by a free perusal of the scriptures, with all the enthusiasm of her sex, and promoted the promulgation of the blessing with the zeal of an early reformer. In a manual of devotions presented by her to

her maids of honour, she "gives thanks for the knowledge of Godde's holy will and gladde tydings of salvation, long kept close under Latyne letteres, and now at last promulgated, published and sette at libertie by the grace powred into the hearte of thy supreme power our prince."* Under her auspices is supposed to have originated the encouragement which Henry was induced to afford to this great work, and at length Cranmer obtained
1533. permission to begin the translation of the scriptures. To effect his purpose, he is said to have divided the New Testament into eight or nine parts, to have had them translated by the best Greek scholars he could find, and to have distributed them severally to the bishops, desiring them to revise the respective portions, and to return them to Lambeth within a certain time. All the learned prelates complied with this injunction, except Stokesley, who sent his part to the primate with an uncivil message. Cranmer expressed some surprize at this behaviour, but it was remarked by one of the company, that Stokesley was "not likely to trouble himself about any testament in which he had no legacy, and that the apostles were too poor and humble to be worthy of the notice of my Lord Bishop of London."†

* *Lewis.* † *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 195.

Meanwhile Miles Coverdale, an Augustine friar, who had been converted to the Protestant faith, had completed a translation of the New Testament, and had dedicated it first to Anne Bullen, and afterwards to Jane Seymour, who, like her predecessor, favoured the Protestant cause.

As the former design of Cranmer had not been carried into effect, a compilation was made from the translations of Coverdale and of Tindall, and was authorized by Cranmer until the year 1536, and commanded to be placed in all churches, the expence of its purchase being divided between the parishioners and the clergyman of each parish. This version obtained the name "Matthews's Bible," a fictitious signature, necessary during the existing prejudices against Tindall, who is supposed by some writers to have been the sole author of the work.* It contained, on its first appearance, notes which were highly offensive to the bishops, and which, in a subsequent edition, were omitted.†

So partially, however, were the minds of men, at this period, enlightened upon the subject of religion, that the assistance of the scriptures was received with coldness by most of the curates and parish priests, and limitations were afterwards set to the perusal of the sacred volumes.

* *Lewis*, pp. 103. 109. † *Strype*, vol. i. p. 476.

The English Primer, which first appeared in 1535, was republished this year, with the
1536. title of "King Henry's Primer," and was permitted, as well as several other religious works, to be read by all ranks of people. This book, now published nominally by Doctor Marshall, Archdeacon of Nottingham, was chiefly revised by Cranmer, by whose judicious directions the sublime and impressive litany and collects of the Catholic church were gradually modelled into a liturgy undeniably conducive to the purest devotional feelings. The Primer, as originally published, was a collection of various tracts, with prefaces and admonitions, which had been set forth by authority at different times. It contained first the Ten Commandments, among which the first and the second are joined, without any distinction, as in all Catholic decalogues; an exposition of the Creed, together with explanations of the Lord's Prayer, and numerous prayers and devotional exercises, among which the litany was inserted, in the second edition, with a preface explaining the reasons for which it had been omitted in the first edition. The cause assigned amply justified the caution which had been observed. It was stated, that the litany being an address to the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, many persons worshipped them with a superstitious

notion that no petition would obtain favour with the Supreme Being, except through their intercession; but, although this error was expressly controverted in the preface to this book, yet in the Primer printed in 1536, the litany was given in the usual form, beginning with addresses first to the Virgin Mary, and then to the angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, by their respective names.* This work, for which the nation was indebted to Cromwell, obtained at first, from its unrestrained circulation, a wider diffusion than the scriptures. The publication of the Primer was followed, in 1537, by another work entitled the "Institution of a Christian Man," drawn up by the bishops in convocation, by command of the king. It was intended to serve as a direction for the bishops and clergy, and as a sort of standard for the desk and pulpit, and comprehended the seven sacraments. In this manner was framed the foundation of those supplications of our established church, in the composition of which are combined as much piety, pathos, and sublimity, mixed with as little of imperfection and of error as can, perhaps, be found in any human production.

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 337.

In the litany given by Collier as printed in the Primer, June 16th, 1535, the addresses to the virgin, &c. are left out. There were several Primers reprinted and revised in this reign.

It appears not a little surprising, that all these bold innovations on ancient custom should have been permitted with impunity by the sovereign pontiff, and by the leading princes of Europe, Charles, Emperor of Germany, and the King of France, whose devotion to the ancient faith remained unshaken. But Paul the Third, a pontiff of great moderation and prudence, who had succeeded the artful and intriguing Clement the Seventh, perceived that it was vain to oppose the Lutheran opinions by those violent measures which had formerly been pursued by the Roman see; and deriving some hope from the execution of Anne Bullen, that a change might yet be effected in the king's sentiments on religious matters, had recently made advances for a reconciliation to the English agent at Rome. Charles, partly from his enterprize against the Moors, and partly with a view to reinstate his cousin, the Princess Mary, in her succession to the throne of England, forebore, for a time, to revenge those wrongs which his aunt, as well as the church, had sustained.

Henry, expecting the effects of the Emperor's displeasure, meditated refortifying many of his port towns with the treasures accumulated from the spoils of the monasteries, and sent ambassadors into Scotland and France to engage if possible the

monarchs of those countries on his side*. The Protestant princes of Germany, who, during some years had formed, under the confederacy of the Smalkaldic League, an important political body, afforded so powerful a protection to the Lutheran opinions, that Henry, although still far from subscribing to those doctrines, yet knew the value of their support, and sought their alliance. For this purpose, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, who was inclined to the Lutheran tenets, had been dispatched to Germany, but the treaty was impeded by the advice and objections of Gardiner, who, without daring to avow his opinions, was secretly an enemy to the Reformation. The chief point insisted upon by the German princes was the confession of Augsburgh, which, under the auspices of the temperate and pacific Melancthon, had been acknowledged in 1530, by the Protestants of Germany, as an unanimous declaration of their faith.† It was also required by the reformers, that Henry should accept the title of Defender of their Faith; so that the king had a

* In a letter to James the Fifth written about this period, on the part of Henry, dissuading his nephew from his zealous adherence to the court of Rome, the Pope is spoken of in these, and similar terms: "Doth he not sytt in the temple of God, by damnable dispensaciones, by dyscevable remyssions, by lyenge myracles, by fayned reliques, by false religion," &c. *Weaver*, p. 95. from *Cott. Papers*.

† See *Robertson's Charles the Fifth*, vol. iii. p. 44.

good chance of being honoured with that appellation from two contending parties, which he at various times opposed, and in whose tenets he never entirely concurred. To forward this league, the German princes at one period designed to have sent over Sturmius and Melancthon, Bucer and Draco, to confer with the divines of the English church. Melancthon had, indeed, already been solicited by the king to give him the benefit of his advice and society in England, but had always declined the honour. But although a civil league was afterwards formed, a co-operation in religious affairs between Henry and the Lutherans in Germany, powerful as it might have been, was not affected. The death of Fox, an event adverse to that desirable conclusion of the treaty, was unfortunate for the Protestants in general, the bishopric of Hereford being given to Bonner, whose influence was exerted with intentions wholly dissimilar from those of his predecessor.

1536. Meanwhile two factions prevailed among the English bishops, and considerable hopes were entertained by the papal advocates, that the death of Anne Bullen might produce a reversion in the mind of the king; but Henry, who was much under the influence of his wives, while they remained in favour, was united to one whose short-lived power over his affections

was exerted in favour of the reformed religion, to which she and the rest of her family were decidedly attached.

Cromwell, Cranmer, Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's, constituted the Protestant party in convocation. They formed a powerful body; the fearlessness and energy of Cromwell's mind, tempered by the judgment and moderation of Cranmer, establishing the basis of their strength; while the eloquence of Latimer, who was the most admired preacher of his time, and the abilities of Fox, assisted in bringing the forces into action. Shaxton was not possessed of equal discretion with the rest of his coadjutors: Cranmer, says the celebrated Fuller, forwarded the interests of reformation, "prudently and solidly, Latimer, zealously and simply, Shaxton, with much indiscreet pride and vanity." The advocates of papacy, on the other hand, were headed by Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, who had long been suspected of secretly opposing the supremacy of the king. Virulent and conceited, he persecuted the Protestants, and wrote against the opinions of Erasmus; to whom he was a very unequal antagonist. So great a value did he, after the fashion of the popish clergy, attach to the learning of the schools, that when Bale, the

celebrated Protestant, who was brought before him on a charge of heresy, pleaded scripture in his defence, Lee accounted his arguments too frivolous to be regarded; but valued a distinction out of Scotus, whom Bale accidentally mentioned, more than all which could be urged from sacred writ.* In this value for scholastic learning, Stokesley, Bishop of London, resembled Lee; and both these prelates evinced, in their arguments in convocation, a far more profound acquaintance with that unprofitable species of knowledge, then falsely denominated philosophy, than with the scriptures, the only true test of religious faith. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was a deep, but cautious enemy of the reformed opinions, although he had at first violently advocated the regal supremacy: his character was, afterwards, developed to the disgrace of his own party and to the terror of Protestants. Nix, Bishop of Norwich, was a vehement and open foe to the late proceedings regarding religion; for which he had incurred the displeasure of Henry, and had long been kept a prisoner in the Marshalsea. According to Collier, he was released from that prison only upon the payment of a fine which was applied, it is said, to the purchase of the glass windows in King's College Chapel, at Cambridge. To these partizans of

* *Fuller*, p. 188.

the Papacy may be added Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, whose moderation and piety deserved and obtained the respect of all parties. Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, and Kite, Bishop of Norwich after the death of Nix, clung to papal power during the whole of this reign. Sherburn, Bishop of Chichester, who was also devoted to the see of Rome, resigned his bishopric, and was allowed a pension by parliament.

In the convocation which met, as usual, a few days after the dissolution of parliament, 1536. fifty-nine points were specified as errors in the established religion; and the reasons which are given for the rejection of these doctrines, constitute, as Fuller observes, "the Protestant religion in ore." Articles in which, among other points, three sacraments only were enjoined, were drawn up by the king's order; and notwithstanding much opposition in the house of convocation, were subscribed to by a majority of bishops, and received, afterwards, the signature of the king *, by whose own hand they were, in various places, corrected and tempered.† It is singular that two foreigners, strict adherents to popery, signed with the rest, as appears by the original: these were Peter Vannes, and Polydore Vergil, the celebrated historian,

* *Collier's Eccl. Hist.* part 2. book ii. p. 122.

† *Burnet*, book xi. p. 395.

who was brought into this country by Campeggio, and who was both a dignitary in the cathedral of Wales, and Archdeacon of Taunton.*

In the parliament of last year, the first-fruits had been granted to the crown. Further regulations were now made concerning that grant, sanctuaries were limited, and it was enacted that those availing themselves of such protection were obliged to wear badges. The number of holidays, which were so frequent as to impede the gathering of the harvest, was diminished; the feasts of the patron of each church were thrown open to business; and injunctions were likewise given to the clergy by Cromwell, to repress all superstitious holidays and pilgrimages. A system of religious instructon was also recommended; the residence of a vicar or curate on every living was enforced; the introduction of a Bible into each choir was commanded, in order that the people might read at their pleasure; and regulations were enacted, tending, in short, to abolish all papal jurisdiction in this country.† These articles were delivered to the deans, and so on to the rest of the clergy; Cromwell, with a well-advised modesty, not in-

* Fuller observes, speaking of Polydore Vergil, that he was reported to have burned all the rare books that he could get into his possession, in order to advance the value of his own. See *Fuller's Church Hist.* book v. p. 198.

† *Collier*, book xi. part 2. p. 129.

cluding the bishops in his vicegerency on this occasion.

While these progressive changes afforded encouragement to the Protestants in England, Tindall, to whom the reformed church is eminently indebted, was inveigled into the power of the emperor by his agents; being, as his biographer expresses it, "simple and inexpert in the wylie subtleties of this world," and was carried to the castle of Filford, near Antwerp, where, after eighteen months he was tied to a stake, but strangled previous to the kindling of the faggots, by which his body was afterwards consumed. The last words of this zealous and learned man were these, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England!" Earnest, but unavailing intercession had been made for his life by Cromwell.

Tindall, besides great learning, possessed extraordinary persuasive powers. By the exertion of these, and the example of his exemplary life and principles, he had much influence on those around him; and during his confinement he is said to have converted the keeper of his prison and his daughter, and others of the household.

It was not to be expected that all the bold measures which had been latterly sanctioned by Henry, should be carried into execution without some hazard: it is rather a matter of surprise

that so much should have been attempted and effected without greater difficulties. Henry was, indeed, in a condition peculiarly convenient for the completion of any designs which he might entertain with respect to his own dominions. At peace with all the world, his treasury replenished with the destruction of the monasteries, and his own credit with the court of Rome almost irretrievably lost, there remained no motive either of fear or of policy to check his progress. To annihilate establishments, however, which had been the work of ages, and to abolish customs and opinions which a considerable portion of the people had scarcely deemed questionable before the recent changes; to aim, not only at certain parts of a system long venerated, but at the very basis of that system, formed a scheme, the conception of which was suitable to the ardent temper and capacious mind of Henry, and the execution to the powerful abilities of Cromwell. The project, like a mountain-stream, had many falls and breaks to diversify its course, before it settled into an equable though rapid current. The inhabitants of the northern parts of the country, remote from the seat of knowledge, and generally in a state of extreme ignorance, were incensed by the destruction of the monasteries, which, more especially where the country was thinly peopled,

afforded a refuge for the poor, and frequently supplied means of employment for the industrious. The number of paupers, therefore, increased, and the rents of the farms were raised. The king, it is true, aware of these inconveniences, had refounded about thirty-one of the monastic institutions during the first year of the dissolutions; but discontent was excited by the indiscretion of the late parliament, which had indiscreetly granted a subsidy, the raising of which added greatly to the increasing murmurs. On the part of Cromwell, it was injudicious to advise the loan at so critical a period. The people began to complain aloud of the recent proceedings, and an army of twenty thousand men was quickly assembled in Lincolnshire, headed by the prior of Barlings, one Doctor Macharel, who styled himself Captain Cobler. At first the insurgents appeared to be moderate in their demands, and merely petitioned the king to grant them a change of administration, and not to employ men of low birth in the ministry. Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was sent to treat with them, with a commission to raise forces at discretion; but the soothing measures which he at first applied, proving ineffectual, a proclamation was published commanding the rebels to lay down their arms at their peril, which had the desired effect.

Before the Lincolnshire insurgents were quelled, similar disturbances arose in Yorkshire, headed by one Robert Aske, whose followers taking up arms on the score of religious abuses, assumed the appellation of the "Pilgrimage of Grace." The insurgents were attended by several priests, who marched before them bearing crosses; while their standards displayed the crucifix, the chalice, and the five wounds. They offered the command of their army to Lord Dacres, who, having been lately tried and acquitted for holding a correspondence with the Scots, was yet supposed to be secretly disaffected; but he refused the dangerous offer. The rebels, however, proceeded toward the south, and were joined by several bodies of dissolved monks, whom they replaced in possession of their monasteries. The king, astounded at these alarming measures, dispatched the Earl of Shrewsbury to the north, with a considerable body of men; and, in order to terrify the monks, caused the unfortunate inhabitants of several monasteries to be dragged out, tried by martial law, and executed. Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, was sent to reinforce the Earl of Shrewsbury. The Marquis of Exeter, the Earls of Rutland and Huntingdon, offered their services to the crown; but still the malcontents gained ground, and advancing to Pomfret, obliged the Archbishop of York and

Lord Darcy to surrender the castle, and to take the oath of association. Soon afterwards the towns of York and of Hull fell into their power, and many of the northern nobility were won over to their cause.

Collecting as they proceeded onwards, the rebels soon advanced to Doncaster, where they mustered thirty thousand strong. Here, they were prevented only by the flooding of the river Don, from crossing over and encountering the king's troops, to the number of five thousand, under the command of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Shrewsbury. By this fortunate accident time was given for the commencement of a treaty; much bloodshed was prevented, and the insurgents were even prevailed upon to send a petition to the king, who was then prepared to take the field in person. The answer which Henry sent to the complaints of the rebels was penned by himself, and it is a curious specimen of inconsistency, and of inordinate vanity and pride.* It was, however, accompanied by a pardon, which included all but ten of the rebels; but as four of the excepted persons were not named, the pardon was considered as a snare, and was rejected. On a meeting of the northern clergy soon afterwards at Pomfret, such terms were, however, proposed,

* See *Appendix.*

as were at first far from agreeable to the notions of subjection which Henry entertained; but on being informed by the Duke of Norfolk that his army was not in a condition to take the field, he thought it expedient to grant a general pardon. The terms upon which the rebels laid down their arms, were, indeed, somewhat exorbitant; they required that a parliament should be held in the north, and a court of justice erected, so that no person north of the Trent should be summoned to the courts of Westminster. They moved, likewise, for a repeal of various statutes in parliament, touching misprision of treason, first fruits and tenths, and they required that the Lady Mary should be declared legitimate; that the Pope should be returned to his customary jurisdiction, and the monks to their houses; that the Lutherans should be punished, and that Cromwell and Audley should not be allowed to sit in the next parliament. It was likewise desired by the insurgents, that Layton and Lee, the commissioners employed in the dissolution of the monasteries, should be imprisoned for bribery and extortion. These articles, and other indications of an unsubdued spirit, determined Henry to keep his forces, under the Duke of Norfolk, still in the field.

Early in February, an insurrection again broke out, and eight thousand rebels were driven

from the city of Carlisle by Norfolk, who after their defeat executed seventy-four of the
1537. leaders. These disasters did not deter other rash persons from similar fruitless attempts; and the town of Hull was besieged by another body of rebels under the command of Sir Francis Bigod, a man whose upright intentions caused his imprudent conduct and untimely end to be regretted, even by his enemies. He was brought to London, and executed in the Tower. Soon afterwards the punishment of death was inflicted likewise on Aske, on Lord Darcy, and on other leaders of the insurgents, who had previously received pardons, but who had since entered into a second conspiracy. These troubles were accompanied by domestic calamities which appear to have affected Henry more than any of the other occurrences of his life.

In the month of July, in the preceding year, Henry had lost his only son, the Duke of Richmond, a promising youth of eighteen, whom he loved with a degree of parental fondness which was never extended to the Princess Mary. Richmond, although of a sickly constitution, is said to have excelled in personal accomplishments, and to have gained universal goodwill by his courteous manners. The only circumstance discreditable to his memory, which

history has transmitted to us, is his attendance at the execution of Anne Bullen. A dislike to that unfortunate individual, was probably fostered in the mind of Richmond, from his near connection with the Howard family, for he had been united, at an early age, to a daughter of that ancient house.

The disappointment which Henry experienced on the death of the young duke, must have been extreme, for he had evinced an anxiety to promote the aggrandizement of Richmond, which could only have proceeded from parental affection and pride. The death of one so much beloved as Richmond, therefore, doubtless inflicted severe pangs upon the heart of Henry, although it had been rendered almost callous by the unbounded indulgence of every passion. In the recent act of succession, passed after the death of Anne Bullen, Henry is said to have even contemplated the possibility of Richmond's elevation to the throne; and, in the monumental honours assigned to his son, the king placed him upon an equality with the legitimate princes of the blood-royal. The Duke of Richmond died at St. James's, but was interred at Framlingham Castle, a seat in Suffolk, at that time belonging to the Howards: on his tomb were quartered the arms of England and of

France; the coat being impaled with those of the Howards.*

In the society of Jane Seymour, whom Lord Herbert denominates the "discreetest, fairest, and humblest of Henry's wives†," the grief of the king was in some measure assuaged; and he appears, during his union with that amiable queen, to have enjoyed a greater portion of domestic happiness than is often the lot of those men, whose infirmities of temper are not counterbalanced by great and redeeming virtues. But this source of comfort to Henry and to his people was soon withdrawn from him, to the regret of all who wished well to the king and to the Protestant cause, which Jane, unobtrusively, but consistently favoured. It might seem rash to conjecture what might have been the improvement in the character of Henry, had the mild influence of this queen been permitted a longer continuance. His stormy passions might have been subdued; and his mind led, from the love for her gentle qualities, to an affection for the virtuous principle whence they proceeded. When we revert to the early period of Henry's

* *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 686.

Famlingham Castle, before mentioned in the course of this work, was a strong and well situated fortress, built in the time of the Saxons. It is now converted into an alms-house, and its lands are appropriated to Pembroke College, Cambridge.

† *Herbert*, p. 451.

life, materials to form a great and even a good man do not appear to be wanting in his character. Easily swayed by those for whose society he felt an inclination, and observed always to be much under the influence of his wives, while they continued in his favour, Henry had exhibited, in his youthful days, such dispositions as inspired his country with the hopes of a calm and prosperous government. But if, with Katharine and with Wolsey, the glory of Henry departed, the small portion of virtue which he possessed seems to have been buried in the grave of Jane Seymour. With her existence, also, the Protestant ascendancy at the English court was, in a great degree, annihilated, and counsellors less temperate and well-principled than Cromwell and Cranmer, began to acquire power. Yet while we regret the untimely fate of this fair queen, there is a consolation in reflecting, that if she was taken from her country at a time when she might have aided the cause of religion and of peace, she was also saved from the possibility of becoming a victim to the passions of one, of whom it has been said, "that if all the patterns of a merciless tyrant had been lost, they would have been found preserved in this prince."*

The death of Jane Seymour occurred in that

* A well known speech made by Sir Walter Raleigh upon Henry the Eighth. See *Heylin's Hist. Reformation.*

mode, which of all others appears to excite the most general compassion, and to raise the apprehensions of the weaker sex.* She died in child-bed; a casualty much more frequent in the days of our ancestors than at present, from the imperfect knowledge of science attained at that early period, and from the inexpert practice of those arts upon which the preservation of life so greatly depends.

The precise day of the delivery of Queen Jane has been disputed, but it is now decided, by the date of a circular letter addressed to the sheriffs of counties immediately after the birth of the child, to have been on the 12th of October.† To aggravate the imputation of brutality justly affixed to the conduct of Henry on many occasions, the papistical writers have assigned, as the cause of the decease of Jane Seymour, the anxiety of Henry to save the child, for whose well-being

1537.

* Very little is recorded of Jane Seymour by the chroniclers: Hall mentions her riding with the king from Westminster to Greenwich, when the Thames was frozen over. It is singular that the precise day of her death should have been so variously stated: Herbert fixes it on two days after the birth of her son: Burnet on the day after that event. The ceremonial of her funeral, in the Heralds' Office, affirms, however, that she died twelve days after the prince was born. It appears from the Reg. of the Garter, pag. 410. that the queen was in labour two days, and suffered exceedingly.

† *Heylin's Hist. of the Reformation*, pp. 5. 12.

the mother is said to have been sacrificed. This account is not only contradicted by Hayward, in his Life of Edward the Sixth*, but is invalidated by the report of the physicians, in whose certificate of the birth, the terms "happily delivered" are used. Two or three days after the birth of her son, the queen expired, having lived long enough to receive extreme unction, and to hear that the young prince had undergone the rites of baptism. It appears, that a few hours previous to her decease, she rallied, and enjoyed some repose; but this amendment was illusive, and she died on the 14th or the 15th of October.†

The infant prince, having been born at two o'clock on the morning of the vigil of St. Edward, was named after his patron saint. His birth was heard with satisfaction by the populace, and among other testimonials of rejoicing, "bonfires to the praise of God," as an old writer expresses it, demonstrated the gratitude of the people, ever inclined to sentiments of loyalty. On the day of his entrance into a world, in which he was destined to play so conspicuous a part, the little prince was solemnly constituted a member of that church, which, at this period, it was impossible to know whether to designate Catholic or

* *Hayward*, p. 1.

† *Lodge's Historical Memoirs*, Art 4. *J. Semour.*

Protestant. The baptismal service was performed in the chapel of Hampton Palace; the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Norfolk acting as god-fathers, and the "*Lady*" Mary, as she was now usually called, standing as godmother to her brother.* The font, which was of silver, was guarded by Sir John Russell, Sir Francis Brian, Sir Nicholas Carewe, and Sir Anthony Browne, in aprons, and with towels about their shoulders. The Earl of Wiltshire, father of the late queen, bore the taper of virgin wax, and also wore a towel around his neck. Then came the Princess Elizabeth holding the crysom, and supported, on account of her tender age, in the arms of Lord Morley and of Lord Beauchamp. The Marchioness of Exeter, assisted by her husband, and by the Duke of Suffolk, carried the child; the nurse and other domestics followed. When the ceremony had been performed, and the gifts offered at the font, the unconscious infant was borne in state to the apartment of the queen, to receive the blessing of his father and of his dying mother.†

The next ceremony which occupied the attention of the court, was the funeral of Jane Seymour. The order for her interment, in the Heralds' Office, is dated on the 29th day

* *Hall*, p. 825.

† *Leland's Collectanea*, vol. v. p. 675.

of October, and designates her in the terms most "high, most excellent, and most Christen princess." Unlike her predecessor, who had been carelessly hurried into an obscure grave, the body of Jane was conveyed with great solemnity to Windsor, and there buried in the middle of the choir of the castle church. At St. Paul's and at every parish church in London, masses and dirges were performed, after the manner of the popish ritual. The king kept his Christmas at Greenwich, in his mourning apparel, which neither he nor the court changed until after Candlemas Day.*

The interests of the nation in general were seriously affected by the birth of a male heir to the throne. The Protestants who had looked with dismay to the probable succession of the Princess Mary, contemplated with satisfaction the advantages which might be derived under the government of a prince bred in their faith, and swayed by those who professed their tenets. The people in general rejoiced that the evils of a disputed succession were averted by the possession of an undoubted heir; and the consideration which Henry enjoyed among foreign princes was enhanced by the security which this event gave to the continuance of his line. Henry, who had always dreaded, in an extreme degree,

* *Hall*, p. 825.

a disputed succession, had, nevertheless, acted in such a manner as tended to involve the country in confusion on that very point; and, had he died before the birth of a son, the utmost perplexity must have been the consequence of his inconsistent proceedings. To him, therefore, the birth of Edward was a source of consolation which almost reconciled him to the loss which he had sustained in the death of his wife.

CHAP. VIII.

Foreign affairs. — The Court of Rome. — Censures denounced against Henry. — Reginald Pole; his descent, education, and conduct. — Execution of his relations in England. — Fresh visitations and exposures of the Monasteries. — Destruction of the Shrines. — Distribution of the Abbey lands and goods. — The six articles. — New Bishoprics erected. — Persecutions commenced. — Friar Forest. — Lambert. — Dutch Anabaptists.

HENRY, during some years, had maintained a strict neutrality in the wars which had been carried on between Charles and Francis. Between those princes, a truce had been lately concluded, which lasted ten years, and which rendered Henry fearful of provoking either of the allied powers into any acts of hostility towards England. To a friendship with Francis, nowever, he had ever been disposed, especially since the divorce, against which Charles had taken so decided a part. Henry now sought an alliance with France by proposing a contract of marriage between his daughter Elizabeth, and the Duke d'Angouléme, the third son of Francis; but this scheme was never carried into execution.

Various reasons actuated Henry to form a close bond of union between Francis and himself.

Paul the Third, who had, at first, hoped to draw back Henry to his allegiance to the holy see, had been incited, on receiving the intelligence of the death of Fisher, to pass censures upon the king and upon all his adherents, summoning them to appear at Rome, within ninety days, under pain of excommunication. The publication of this bull was only suspended by the hope of still drawing the truant monarch to his former faith; but the destruction of the monasteries plainly evinced how vain was that expectation, and Paul was induced to publish the bull, in which the soul of the apostate king was given over to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader; and libels were published, in which he was reviled in the most vehement manner, and compared to the apostate Emperor Julian, to whom he was declared inferior in morals, and of whom he was said to be merely an imitator in apostacy and in learning.* It might be thought probable that a man who had acted in the decisive manner which Henry had adopted, would have been insensible to these anathemas; but the king, whose early partiality for the Roman see, still retained some influence over his opinions, had also political motives for feeling the censures

* *Hume*, vol. iv. p. 134.

issued by Paul. He was aware that Charles the Fifth still resented his treatment of Queen Katharine, and desired to restore Mary to her rights; and he not only feared lest the emperor should avail himself of these denunciations as an excuse for interfering in behalf of his niece, but that he would secretly undermine his authority, by means of an individual nearly allied to the crown of England.

Among those persons who were nearly related to the king, none during this reign had received greater marks of royal favour than Reginald Pole, or Pool, who afterwards made so conspicuous a figure in the reign of Mary. The mother of this celebrated man, the granddaughter of Richard Nevil, Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and the daughter of George Duke of Clarence, brother to Edward the Fourth, was Countess of Salisbury and Baroness Montagu in her own right. Descended from the line of Plantagenet, a name of which Fuller has remarked, that, as it "out-syllabled *Tudor* in the mouths, so it did outvie it in the affections of the English*," this lady appears to have possessed the high and courageous spirit of her race, and to have been a lofty representative of that proud ancestry, the lowliest descendant of

* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 406.

which regarded, almost with contempt, the inferior family of the Tudors.

This high-born lady, induced perhaps by the calamities of her earlier days, had condescended to bestow her hand upon Sir Richard Pole, a Welsh knight, whose blood, although it had flowed through many honourable veins, was scarcely worthy to mingle with the pure stream by which the existence of the dignified Margaret was cherished. Misfortune had, however, at an early period, given a lesson of wisdom and of humility to the Countess of Salisbury, by which, if we may judge of her character by that of her children, she seems to have profited. Her brother, Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, who inherited his title from the famous Nevile, Earl of Warwick, had been conveyed at an early age from the protecting walls of Warwick Castle, where he was born, to the Tower, and there immured on account of the jealousy of his uncles, Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third, who dreaded his pretensions to the crown. It was reserved for the dastardly spirit of Henry the Seventh to sacrifice this youth, rendered almost imbecile by long confinement, to the mean policy of Ferdinand of Spain. The royal victim was led forth and beheaded on Tower-hill, in order to secure the marriage between Prince Arthur and Katharine of Arra-

gon. This event had, however, in some respects, a beneficial influence on the interests of the parents of Reginald Pole. Henry the Seventh, relieved from his jealous fears respecting the last male Plantagenet, promoted Sir Richard Pole to offices of trust and honour, gave him great authority in Scotland, elected him a Knight of the Garter, and made him a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Prince Arthur.* To the mind of Katharine, scrupulous and virtuous as it appears to have been, the sacrifice of Edward Plantagenet on her account appeared to constitute a claim on the part of his remaining relatives to her protection and kindness. Accordingly, we not only find that she entrusted the charge of her daughter to Katharine Pole, the sister, probably, of the cardinal, who became the nurse of that young princess†; but that she is stated to have desired a still closer connection between the families, by the union of Reginald with the heiress presumptive of the British crown.‡ But this assertion must not be too implicitly credited, since it rests on the authority of those who have written the character of Reginald Pole rather as eulogists than as biographers, and who have therefore sought, by every means, to exalt his importance.

* *Phillips's Life of Pole,* vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

† See *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 72.

‡ *Phillips*, vol. i. p. 38.

An intimacy, arising, perhaps, from similarity of disposition, subsisted, however, between Queen Katharine and the Countess of Salisbury, who appears to have resided with the Princess Mary, after the divorce between the king and queen*; and it was, perhaps, to the mediation of Katharine that the great liberality shewn at an early period by Henry the Eighth to Reginald Pole may be, in part, attributed. At the accession of Henry, Pole was nine years of age, his birth having occurred in the year 1500, at Stour Castle, near Stourbridge, in Staffordshire.† At seven, he had been removed to a celebrated grammar school, in the monastery of the Carthusians at Shene, where he remained some years; but quitting that seminary for Oxford, he remained some time at a monastery called the White Friars. At the early age of twelve, the young student was admitted on the terms of a nobleman, and, at the expence of the king, into Magdalen College, where he is supposed to have studied under Linacre and Latimer, at that time resident in Oxford‡, and before his removal from the university, Reginald had the good fortune, also, to become acquainted with Sir Thomas

* See *Sylloge in Hearne's Titus Livius,* in which an annuity granted to that lady is mentioned.

† *Fuller's Worthies,* vol. ii. p. 304.

‡ *Wood,* vol. i. p. 114.

More, whose friendship he ever afterwards enjoyed, and by whom he has been described, in a letter to Erasmus, "as a youth not only noble, but virtuous and learned." While he remained at Oxford, Pole had the satisfaction of obliging More, by procuring for that great man, who was suffering under some disease, the opinions of several able physicians, resident at the university, respecting the complaint in question: and not only did the youthful friend of More collect the prescriptions to cure the malady, but he sent them to his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, to make them up, for it was then the custom for ladies, even those of rank, to practice various branches of pharmacy.*

As Reginald was a younger son, he was educated for the church, in conformity with the custom then prevalent; and evincing early considerable talents and an excellent disposition, he become an object of interest to Henry, who loved to patronize youths of merit, and who, in the early part of his life, estimated in a high degree the proficiency in polemic studies, in which Pole appeared likely to excel. With these sentiments towards his relative, Henry resolved to spare no expence in completing his education, and in forwarding his elevation in the church. At seventeen years of age, therefore, Regniald

* *Phillips*, vol. i. p. 7.

was made a prependary of Salisbury Cathedral; at nineteen, Dean of Wimbourne in Dorsetshire, and soon afterwards, of Exeter.* In order to give him the advantages of foreign instructors, more prized at that period than at present, on account of the low state of our national universities, Henry sent the young churchman to Padua, and maintained him during five years at that university, where Pole gained the admiration and esteem of Rembo, Sadolet, Antareno, and of other eminent persons, by his intelligence, industry, and engaging deportment. On his return to England, Pole found his royal patron in his thirty-sixth year, surrounded by a court, which Erasmus affirmed, with more politeness than truth, to be a seat of the muses, rather than a palace, and equal to any school of philosophy, not excepting that of Athens itself.†

Pole was received with kindness by Henry, and with affection by Katharine; yet he soon began to dislike the tumults and intrigues of a court, and to dread those temptations to which even the most virtuous have proved vulnerable. He sought therefore, the shelter of that retirement which Dean Colet had recently enjoyed in the Carthusian monastery at Shene. There he remained two years; but perceiving the rapid progress of

* *Wood.* † *Phillips*, vol. i. p. 33.

the Reformation, and being himself attached to the Romish church, he obtained leave to pursue his studies in the university of Paris, hoping to escape the necessity of engaging in any measures which his conscience might condemn. The regard which Henry had manifested towards Pole was, however, still undisturbed, when the divorce began to be agitated, and Pole, with Langet, Bishop of Bayonne, was deputed to collect opinions in favour of that question. This charge Pole determined to avoid, for he was too zealous an adherent to the see of Rome, to waver in his sentiments on so important a subject, and his friendship for Katharine was such, that he frequently declared that he preferred death to an office which might assist in depriving her of her rights. He, therefore, excused himself, on account of inexperience, and leaving the charge of the mission to Langet, returned to England. Here he found Henry in all the perplexities into which his anxiety to part with a wife of whom he was weary, and to marry one of whom he soon became equally tired, had involved him.

It was of considerable importance to Henry to obtain the favourable decree of a man such as Pole, whose consideration was great both at home and abroad. To Pole, the inducements to declare in favour of the measure were considerable. The Archbishopric of York and the Bishopric

of Winchester were now vacant; and, since the death of Wolsey, had been retained by Henry in his own hands, with a view to the future elevation of his kinsman. It was therefore intimated to the young churchman, by the Duke of Norfolk, that the king had resolved upon his elevation; but expected, first, a faithful explanation of his opinions on the point which Henry had most at heart. Pole was staggered by this request, which put his probity to a severe test. He required time to consider the question, and persuaded himself at last, that he might conform in some measure to the wishes of Henry, without deviating from the paths of integrity. In this decision he was encouraged by the representations of his brothers, who, bred up in the atmosphere of a court, either differed in their sentiments from Reginald, or forgot that there are considerations of higher importance than the distinctions of sublunary greatness. Influenced for a time by motives of interest, Pole resolved to accept the honours which awaited him, and consented therefore to an interview with the king, in the gallery of Whitehall: where Henry, informed of his concession, awaited to receive him. With resolutions not, however, completely established, Pole entered the apartment; but, on beholding the king, was so much struck with a conviction of the guilt which attended the pro-

secution of the divorce, that his courage failed; and he declared his inability to comply with the wishes of the king. The scene must have been singularly interesting when Pole, unable to lower his mind to dissimulation, confessed his real sentiments. Henry, in the first burst of disappointment, expostulated with his conscientious though prejudiced kinsman, but the argument, although carried on with modesty and firmness by Pole, had nearly produced a tragical conclusion; the king, in his fury, being observed several times, to put his hand on the hilt of a dagger which hung at his girdle.*

Enraged for a time, Henry had afterwards sufficient generosity to pardon the mortification which Pole, by his resolute opposition, had inflicted; and, when he had vented the first sally of passion in a torrent of reproaches, he began to reflect on the value of that man who could thus reject almost the highest temptations which ambition could offer, from considerations of duty. On receiving a letter from Pole, stating the motives of his conduct to Lord Montague, who, with the rest of his brothers, reprobated what they conceived to be the infatuation of their brother, Henry, in reply, thus expressed himself: "My lord, I cannot be offended with so affectionate and dutiful a letter. I love him

* *Wood*, vol. i. p. 116.

in spite of his obstinacy; and, were he but of my opinion on this subject, I would love him better than any man in the kingdom."* In pursuance of these generous sentiments, Henry still continued to Pole a pension of five hundred crowns, which he had assigned to him, and permitted him to resume his studies abroad. A friendly correspondence was even maintained between them; and on the death of Anne Bullen, Pole, who in common with other papists, regarded her as the sole cause of Henry's schism from the church, wrote to the king, expressing his hope that with "the cutting off the queen's head, God had cut away all such offences as had separated the king from the light of God; that from her had descended all disorders."†

When Henry was convinced that the objections made by Pole to the divorce arose from conscientious motives, and that they were retained with a scrupulous tenacity, it would have been the part of wisdom to have allowed Pole full liberty of sentiment, and to have urged him no further; but this was an act of discretion impossible to a man so opiniative and headstrong as the king. After Pole had retired to the north of Italy, in order to avoid discussion,

* *Lingard*, vol. vi. p. 240. from the *Works of Pole*.

† *Strype*, vol. i. p. 440.

he was perpetually attacked with solicitations from Henry, to relax in his sentiments concerning the divorce; and hopes were at one time entertained, that his disapprobation was shaken by the arguments which Cromwell and Starky had offered in favour of that measure. It was, however, in vain that Henry flattered the learning and judgment of Pole, by his repeated appeals to his decision, and that he sent him the work written by Sampson on his own side of the question. Pole, after replying to the partizans of the king as a statesman, at last, like all men who often repeat the same opinions, becoming still more attached to his own doctrines, sent a reply to Henry in the form of a polemical work on the unity of the church.* This book, which contained, among other assertions by no means palatable, the questionable opinion "that a king was an evil rather suffered by God, than a blessing sanctioned by providence," gave great offence to Henry, who sent, however, to Pole, commanding him to come to England, and to explain it in person.† Pole prudently chose to disobey so hazardous a summons; and being afterwards cited to Rome that he might give his opinion concerning a general council, he was soon thereafter made a Cardinal, and became wholly an adherent of the

* *Strype*, p. 446. † Ibid.

holy see. This proceeding enraged Henry to the greatest degree. He pronounced Pole a
Dec. 22, 1538. rebel to his king and to his country; and Cromwell, who saw the effect which the conduct of Pole produced upon his sovereign, entered with so much vehemence into the same cause, that he was heard to say with all the bitterness of political rancour, that "he would make Pole eat his own heart." The indignation of Henry must have been increased to fury when he gained the intelligence that Pole was sent as a legate into Flanders, where, from the proximity of that country to England, he would be enabled to confirm those Catholics who had not yet entirely relinquished their allegiance to the Pope.

The part in which Pole thus engaged was attributed by his enemies to a hope that by embroiling the king in a civil war, of which the recent disturbances, entitled the Pilgrimage of Grace, had afforded some prospect, the perplexities in which the succession would thence be involved, might allow him to step in and take possession of the crown. It was even supposed by some that the opposition which Pole made to the divorce, proceeded from a secret attachment to the Princess Mary. But these surmises, which must have sunk to the ground after the birth of Edward, had no great foundation to support

them, and it is far more likely that the Emperor Charles the Fifth, desirous of one day re-establishing the claims of his niece upon the English throne, had instigated the Pope to employ the agency of Pole, in order to keep together the Catholic party in this country. The conduct of Pole is, however, wholly indefensible on many accounts: in his refusal to subscribe to a measure which he privately condemned, every honest man must approve his conduct; but in regard to his sovereign, and his patron, Pole should, at least, have preserved neutrality of conduct; and his machinations against Henry betray both weakness in allowing himself to be persuaded by the opposite party to enter into them, and ingratitude towards the country to which he owed his birth, and to the monarch who had so ardently desired to promote his interests.*

Henry, whose suspicions of Pole are more justifiable than on some other occasions, lost no time in disconcerting these real or supposed schemes of his kinsman. Having obtained intelligence of Pole's movements, he prevented the Cardinal from remaining in France, whither his intrigues were at first directed; and when the king found that Pole intended proceeding as a legate into Flanders, Henry intimated to Mar-

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 402.

garet, Governess of the Netherlands, that he should consider her harbouring a rebel to his government as an infringement of the treaty between her and himself. Pole, upon hearing of this precaution on the part of Henry, and on being told by Margaret that she could not permit his remaining in her dominions, wrote a letter in his own justification to Cromwell, declaring that the only views which he entertained with respect to England, proceeded from a desire to prevent those errors which he perceived in the Reformation: but Hutton, the king's agent in Flanders, having gained over one Throgmorton, a domestic in the service of Pole, to betray his master, the intrigues of Pole were manifested, and no credit was attached to this explanation. It still, however, remains a matter of considerable doubt to what extent the views of Pole were carried. His own letters, not only to Cromwell and to Tonstall, but to the court of Rome, deny the charge of having intended to raise civil commotions; and so few decisive accusations could be obtained from Throgmorton, that he was afterwards attainted with Peyto, a Franciscan friar, and with other of the Cardinal's servants, on suspicion of being still inleagued with Pole.* Whatever might be the real nature of Pole's negociations, Henry,

* *Lord Herbert*, p. 488.

during the remainder of his life, felt the utmost suspicion and hatred towards the object of his former esteem and approbation, and the jealousy of the king was perpetually inflamed by intelligence of fresh correspondence between the Cardinal and his relatives in England. Cromwell, unhappily, did not sufficiently discourage the spirit of persecution in which the king indulged: but Henry, while he attainted Pole of treason, and set a reward of 50,000 crowns upon his head, had the charity to make a fruitless endeavour to change the opinions maintained by his adversary. For this purpose, he enjoined Stokesley and Tonstall to write a long and learned letter to Pole in vindication of the king's conduct; and Gardiner published his work on true obedience, to which was added a preface by Bonner.

Dec. 1538.

It had been well if Henry had been contented with this vehement but harmless warfare; but foiled in his attempt to satiate his wrath by the blood of Reginald Pole, the king formed the barbarous design of sacrificing the unoffending members of an ancient family to his own real or imaginary security. The keenest vengeance was therefore inflicted on Pole by the attainder of various of his relatives, under suspicion of having entertained a treasonable correspondence with their kinsman abroad. The anger of the

remorseless Henry was, indeed, irritated afresh, by finding that Pole had accompanied Paul the Third to Nice; where, at the same time that a truce of ten years was agreed upon between Charles and Francis, these two monarchs declared it to be their intention to send an embassy into England, protesting against the schism from the church; and intimating that no commercial intercourse should be carried on between their subjects and those of England. As it was inexpedient for Henry to enter into hostilities against two powerful princes who were now at last united, he solaced himself for the restraints which this conciliatory conduct imposed upon his temper, by venting his displeasure upon those who were really in his power. On the third of November, Henry, son of Catherine, the daughter of Courtney, Marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, brother to Lord Abergavenny, with the Lord Montague and Sir Geoffrey Pole, brothers to Cardinal Pole, were committed to the Tower.

The two lords were first tried before their peers, and were arraigned for high treason, for having conspired with the two commoners "to assist Reginald Pole, late Dean of Exeter, the king's enemy, beyond seas, in his designs to deprive the king of his royal state and dignity." The particular proofs upon which

these unfortunate persons were condemned have not been transmitted to us, but have been supposed to rest upon the evidence of Geoffrey Pole, the unworthy scion of a noble stock, who, by accusing his companions, obtained his pardon, and saved a life not worth redeeming. The guilt or innocence of these persons rests, therefore, upon conjecture. Lord Herbert, who never loses an opportunity of excusing Henry the Eighth, declares that he cannot say much upon the subject, but alleges, that Secretary Wriothesly, writing to Sir Thomas Wyat, then resident ambassador at Madrid, asserts that the accusations against these men were great, and that they had been duly proved. "It appears, also," he says, "that they had supplied Cardinal Pole with money." Yet if the designs of these sufferers had actually been treasonable, why had they not availed themselves of the opportunity which the recent disturbances had afforded of raising rebellion in this country? Whatever may have been the grounds upon which they were condemned, they were all found guilty and executed on Tower-hill, January 9th, 1539, with the exception of Geoffrey Pole, who left the kingdom, but obtained leave to return in the next reign.*

* *Hall*, p. 502.

The Cardinal, who could not in all probability exonerate himself, to his conscience, for his temerity in thus provoking the displeasure of his sovereign towards the sufferers, passed the remainder of this reign abroad, and, becoming more of an Italian than an Englishman, lived in a style of Italian pomp, partaking rather of the gaudy splendour of a foreign prince, than of the stately grandeur in which the ancient nobility of England delighted. Considered as their most inveterate and insidious enemy by many of the Protestants, Pole was charged with Lutheranism by the Papists, for not rebuking the marriages of the clergy, whose deviations from their vows, in that respect, he forbore to reprove. He continued, however, during his whole career, an enemy to persecution, preferring, in the words of Fuller, "to burn the bones of the dead, rather than to wrong the living." His principles in the reign of Mary secured him a safe return into a country to which he could scarcely be said to belong, and of whose inhabitants he always entertained so much suspicion, that he constantly placed all his money in the hands of foreign merchants, either at Venice or at Rome. By his will, Pole manifested the same anti-national spirit which, to say the least of it, is to be regretted as a defect.

He left his property to Italians, and made one of that nation his executor.*

The measures which Henry pursued in religious affairs at home, were not rendered less active by the fear of foreign enemies. In the preceding year a new visitation of the monasteries had been prescribed, and fresh expositions had been made of the impostures existing in these establishments. In addition to the list of those mentioned in the last visitation, it is sufficient to remark, in order still further to shew the iniquitous deceptions practised in these institutions, that the girdle of the Virgin was shewn in seven, and her milk in eight different places. The belt of St. Thomas, who was Earl of Lancaster, was also specified to the lower classes of the people as a remedy for the headache, although it is not easy to imagine how that individual had acquired canonization, as he was beheaded for treason in the reign of Edward the Second. An image of our Lady, with a taper in her hand, which had burned nine years without wasting, was discovered to be nothing but a piece of wood; and the Lady of Worcester was now stripped of her vestments and decorations, and was found to be an image

* *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 31.

Pole was buried in Canterbury Cathedral, with this simple inscription, "Depositum Cardinalis Pole."

representing a bishop ten feet high. But the most ingenious devices were those of Boxley in Kent, where a sort of automaton, representing the Virgin, was displayed, of which the eyes and lips were seen to move; and of Hales in Gloucestershire, where the blood of our Saviour, brought from Jerusalem, and said to have been kept for ages, was detected to be that of a duck, kept in a bottle of chrystal, which was thick on one side and very thin and transparent on the other. The devotee who desired to be blessed with a sight of this precious relic, was obliged first to confess, and to offer at the altar; if a wealthy person appeared, the opaque side was first displayed, until his heart was opened, and a sufficient number of masses were paid: then was he recompensed with a view of the thin side, where he reverently beheld the blood of a duck. It was thought right to expose these impostures, and the Rood of Grace from Boxley was publicly shewn at St. Paul's Cross, its mechanism was exhibited, and it was then knocked in pieces.

One of the greatest abuses of public worship was the adoration bestowed upon the Virgin Mary, before the destruction of the shrines. The altars erected to the Virgin were, indeed, far more numerous than those in honour to our Saviour, and Mary, the uninspired mother of

Jesus, received divine honours in the days of darkness and superstition previous to the Reformation.

Among other ancient shrines of great celebrity was that of our Lady of Walsingham, whose chapel was said to have resembled minutely that of our Lady at Nazareth, at the place where she was saluted by the angel Gabriel. The revenues of a priory of Black canons, adjacent to the altar of the Virgin at Walsingham, were entirely supplied by the rich offerings at the altar; to which all persons who desired to establish a reputation for sanctity were obliged to resort. To this shrine Katharine of Arragon, in the piety of her heart, had paid particular respect, and had thought it requisite to apply to our Lady of Walsingham for support and assistance, when left regent of the kingdom, during the absence of her husband in France. Erasmus, who, from curiosity, visited this celebrated spot, describes it to have been situated about four miles from the sea, and the town wholly inhabited by pilgrims. The chapel, he describes, "as all of wood, whereunto, at a little door, "are such admitted as come with their devotions "and offerings. Small light there is in it, and "none other, in manner, but by tapers and "wax candles, yielding a most deynty and "pleasant smell. Nay, if you look into it, you

" would say it was the habitation of heavenly " saints indeed ; so bright shining it is all over " with precious stones, with gold and silver." *

The principal of these monuments of superstition, besides Walsingham, were the shrines of Ipswich, Worcester, and Wilsdon ; and the industrious editor of Leland's Collectanea has published, in that curious work, a letter from a brother antiquary, who refers the origin of numerous signs of the Maiden, once prevalent on the exterior of public houses in London, to altars of the Virgin formerly situated on those spots. Lad-lane he supposes to have been " Lady-lane," and Maiden-lane to have also been the scene of devout aspirations poured out to the Virgin.†

The diligence which Cromwell and the commissioners exerted in exposing the absurd contrivances of the monks in their true light, proceeded from a design which the king had now formed for the suppression of the larger monasteries. With the same view it was deemed expedient to destroy the reverence which still prevailed for shrines, pilgrimages, and tombs; the popular respect for which was, in some measure, kept up by the dispersed monks.

* *Weaver's Funeral Monuments*, p. 860.

† See *Bagford's Letter to Hearne in Leland's Collectanea*, edited by *Hearne*, vol. i. p 77.

Some of the tombs possessed treasures, the acquisition of which was also an irresistible temptation to Henry, and among these, the tomb of Thomas à Becket was the most remarkable in point of splendour and wealth. The history of this celebrated tomb is remarkable; Stephen Langton, the successor of Becket, had taken up the bones of the murdered archbishop, and had interred them under a rich shrine at the east end of the Cathedral of Canterbury. The church, proud of the ascendancy which this champion of its power had acquired over regal dominion, had elevated the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, even above the altar of Christ, to whom the church was dedicated: his blood was considered almost of equal efficacy with that of our Saviour, and his shoe was kissed with devout reverence by thousands of pilgrims. Since the canonization of that proud prelate, no stranger of distinction had visited his tomb without having left there some rich tribute of superstitious veneration, and among these offerings was a jewel of inestimable value, with which Lewis the Seventh of France had purchased an imaginary exemption from shipwreck, for every passenger between Dover and Whitesand; and which Henry now caused to be set in a ring which he wore upon his thumb. Of this bauble, and of other precious articles which filled two large iron chests, Henry now

possessed himself, and the strength of eight men was required to bear away the treasures. The bones of Becket were sentenced to be burned by the commands of Cromwell, but having been purchased by different votaries, they were too much dispersed for the execution of his orders. In addition to these proceedings, Becket was pronounced unworthy of canonization, his name was struck out of the calendar of saints, and the observance of his holyday forbidden.

By this action Henry gratified two passions at once; his cupidity was satiated with the rich gleanings which the spoils afforded, and, in attacking the cause of one who had exercised so remarkable a spiritual authority as Becket had assumed over his sovereign, Henry revenged the cause of royalty, and gave an additional tribute to his own supremacy. This act of retribution on the memory of Becket, while it incensed Paul the Third to such a degree as to make him publish a bull against Henry which had been long prepared for that purpose, paved the way for a spoliation of a more extended description, accustomed the people to endure what was considered by many persons as shameful sacrilege, and shewed the nobles what rich prizes might be obtained from the storehouses of the church.

The destruction of the larger monasteries, although effected with less interruption than

the former suppressions, were not, however, completed without considerable difficulty. The king having no right either by statute or by claim to the possession of these religious houses, judged it expedient to proceed by means of voluntary surrenders, or of forfeiture for immorality or for breach of rule. By some it was alleged in support of his seizure of the abbey lands and treasures, that many of them being royal foundations, ought to revert to the crown, in case of dissolution; but, as Henry had possessed himself also of a number of convents founded by private individuals, this argument for his claims had no just foundation. It was therefore again deemed necessary to apply to parliament, which was assembled in April, 1539. Its first act was to settle the precedency of the lords in parliament, and to Cromwell, as the vicegerent of the king, who was thus again acknowledged as supreme head of the church, was a seat assigned above that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The next proceedings were to pass an act conveying all religious houses, hospitals, or colleges, dissolved, or to be dissolved, into the hands of the king and his heirs. The preamble declares that sundry abbots, abbesses, and priors, have, without compulsion, surrendered to the king their manors and lands.

The parliament were also assured, in the

king's name, that the revenues which should be derived from the dissolved houses, should enrich the exchequer, maintain a well equipped standing army of forty thousand men, and ease the subjects from the raising of loans, subsidies, or other aids; that lest the dignity of the realm should receive any diminution from the dissolution of so many monasteries, there being twenty-nine abbots and priors who sat as lords in parliament, the king would create a number of nobles.* The nobility, many of whom had already obtained considerable portions of the monastic lands and revenues, were by no means averse to these proposals. A report that Reginald Pole was endeavouring to draw a sort of crusade down upon this country, appeared to increase the necessity for enlarging the resources of government. The truth of this rumour, which has been considered by some historians as purposely raised by Henry, was countenanced by a recent treaty between the Emperor and King of France, and Henry, either expecting the effects of the odium which his conduct had inspired abroad, or willing to persuade the people that the riches of the monasteries would soon be requisite to defend the country, ordered all the havens to be re-fortified, caused fresh bulwarks to be erected on the coast,

* *Preface to Stow's Chronicle*, by *Howe*.

and rode to Dover to inspect the fortifications in person.* It was even alleged that twenty unknown ships were lying in the Downs, and the county of Kent was once in arms upon the intelligence.†

The main result of the promises held out to parliament was disappointment on every score; and whatever future good was to be derived to the country by the destruction of the monasteries, inconvenience and discontent were the general effects produced by that measure during the first period of the monastic revolution.

Since the demolition of the monasteries effected so important a change, both on the religious condition, and on the general habits and condition of the people, it is requisite to enter particularly into the last proceedings which condemned them to ruin; and to take a short review, both of the mode of suppression adopted with respect to the larger convents, and of the disposal made of their effects after the hand of the destroyer had visited these ancient, but pernicious institutions.

Jan. 1529. So great had been the activity of the persons‡ appointed to visit monasteries during the preceding year, that, in the early part of the year 1529, almost all the

* *Herbert*, p. 505. † *Hall.*

‡ Among whom was the celebrated Sir Anthony Fitzherbert.

religious houses were resigned into the hands of the commissioner. The means adopted by the indefatigable Cromwell and by his agents were various, and, in some instances, not wholly justifiable. As it was to be held out to parliament that the surrenders were voluntary, pensions were offered, by the command of Cromwell, to many of the priors and abbots. Those who complied with the conditions of the commissioners were commended, and were appointed to exert their influence upon others; and vacancies in the heads of convents were filled up by Cromwell, who endeavoured to place such persons as would be agreeable to the surrender of the monastery; but, when the abbots proved obstinate, they were treated with the utmost rigour. Thus, the abbot of Saint Fountains*, in Yorkshire, had a charge drawn up against him by the commissioners, for taking some of the convent jewels into his custody; he was deemed guilty of perjury, was deposed, and forced to make a private resignation of his convent. In some instances, the seals were taken from the convents†, by which they were deprived of the power of

* Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire was the first of the Cistercian order in England. *Stevens's Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 91.

† In some instances, where a charge of coining was introduced. But many of the great abbeys, that of Reading in particular, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean of St. Martin's le Grand, had the privilege of a mint.

selling their jewels, and of making leases, and were starved into their surrender; in others, accusations of dilapidation and of mismanagement terrified the abbot or prior into a compliance with the conditions proposed. Nor can it be alleged that all the charges of immorality and idleness, although many of them unhappily true, were borne out by proofs. In some instances, petitions were made even by the commissioners in favour of the monasteries, but these supplications were invariably refused; "Cromwell," says Collier, "*like the deaf adder that refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely*, being determined upon a complete abolition."* Yet the vicegerent was not always impenetrable to motives of interest or of convenience, and he sometimes condescended to temporize with those who had the address to treat with him in the way he preferred. The prior of Canterbury delayed the destruction of his house, by an annuity of ten, and afterwards of twenty pounds to Cromwell and to his son, who was one of the visitors, and by the promise of a reversion of two farms, in favour of one of Cromwell's servants. A similar compromise upon favourable terms was also made by the abbot of Bury.

But, wherever mild measures were found likely

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 155 — 157.

to avail, they were, in the first instance, adopted. The means of producing any great revolution, either in religious or political affairs, are seldom such as even the chief instruments of the change, on a dispassionate review of the subject, would recommend. The difficulties of the undertaking must be taken into consideration before we censure too harshly the conduct of Cromwell. A more gradual change would doubtless have produced less inconvenience and discontent; yet, indifferently as the task was performed, we are disposed with Cranmer, in his Homily of Good Works, "to thank God who had made King Henry the instrument of so good a work."*

The monasteries thus being destroyed, it is natural to inquire in what manner their several possessions were employed. It must first be observed that the number of those institutions which were suppressed, amounted, including the hospitals, to seven hundred and fifty-four. Of these, many, as has been before mentioned, were bestowed upon the favourites of the king, sometimes in reward for services, but more frequently as a proof of personal favour. Audley, the Lord Chancellor, obtained several valuable abbeys, for the surrender of which he sometimes compounded; many of the gentry were enriched by the donation of others. Henry, in a transport

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 534.

of delight with a dish of puddings, bestowed a religious house upon the gentlewoman who made them; he even, says Fuller, lost many a thousand pounds belonging to the monasteries at dice; and many a drawing-room, adds the same historian, was decorated with the spoils of the sacred altar. The Jesus bells, and the Clochier, a large turret-house in which they were enclosed, adjoining St. Paul's school, were lost by the king at one throw to Sir Miles Partridge, who was afterwards executed for conspiring against the Duke of Somerset, in the reign of Edward the Sixth*; and this was no trifling stake, for bells were an important article in monastic possessions, and were looked upon with reverence; they were even baptized, anointed, exorcised, and blessed by the bishop; and thus qualified, were supposed to possess powers to drive the devil out of the air, to calm tempests, to extinguish fire, and to raise the dead; and hence the custom of naming each bell in a peal after some saint or apostle.† Those lands which were sold, were, it was thought, transferred upon very slight considerations. A considerable portion of the monastic revenues never came into the treasury, but were sequestered by means of fraud and

* See *Stowe's Survey of London.*

† The office of exorcist was regularly established in the church of Rome. *Weaver*, p. 122.

peculation; the visitors enjoyed salaries, annuities, and fees paid by the abbeys to themselves, their servants, and their friends, upon some private compromise; many estates were sold with the woods upon them unvalued, and others at a very low price; exchanges were made, in which the king frequently obtained barren lands, in lieu of well wooded and valuable enclosures; and in numerous instances the sums nominally given for the purchase of estates and houses, were not paid until many years afterwards. Thus the monastic lands gradually diminished so much in value, that in the time of Elizabeth, in a statement of the various abuses practised by the suppressors, little, it is asserted, remained to her majesty of these vast hoards of wealth.* Discontent was also expressed by many of the council that the foundation lands were not restored to the families of the founders; and Cranmer, with several bishops, contended that while the abbeys of royal foundation might be restored to the crown, the rest should be employed in forming hospitals, public schools, and colleges. This had been the original intention of Wolsey, who, it is said, never contemplated the total seizure of the monastic revenues by his rapacious master.

It is probable that the good which was effected

* *Weaver*, pp. 125, 126.

from the remains of the monasteries, may be attributed to the firmness of Cranmer on several points. The suggestions of Cranmer produced the institution of six new bishoprics; Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. These are all retained with the exception of Westminster. The history of that abbey affords a curious specimen of the vicissitudes of such institutions, at a time when public opinion was in a state of continual vacillation. Henry the Eighth, after reaping the revenues of Westminster Abbey, which amounted to £4000 yearly, placed there a dean and prebendaries, making the last abbot the first dean. Edward the Sixth erected it into a bishop's see*; but in his reign, the venerable structure was with difficulty preserved from the grasping desires of the Protector Somerset. That nobleman, not contented with converting the monasteries of Glastonbury and of Reading into ruins, for the purpose of building his new mansion, afterwards called Somerset House, intended also to have reduced the abbey church of Westminster into materials for the same fabric. From the completion of this barbarous design, and from heaping thereby opprobrium on his memory, the duke was averted by a compromise of two episcopal palaces, of two cloisters of St. Paul's Cathedral, and seven-

* *Weaver*, p. 111.

teen manors belonging to Westminster Abbey. The materials of those different edifices were all applied to the fabrication of his new residence in the Strand.* By Queen Mary, Westminster was restored to its original destination as a convent of Benedictines, and the abbots and monks were replaced in the venerable pile. This arrangement was set aside by parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, who converted the abbey into a collegiate school, and assigned prebends and deans to the church, which it has since retained.

The revenues bestowed upon the new bishoprics amounted to £8000; and the king, in order to supply the place of the monks, placed canons in each cathedral church, to assist the bishops, and to form a society of learned men, who might maintain hospitality, preach the gospel, and prevent the dissemination of heretical and false doctrines. Henry acquired great credit by the foundation of these canons; and it appears to have been also his intention to have erected a greater number of bishoprics, to have changed some into colleges, and to have founded several deaneries.† By two tables preserved in the British Museum, part of them in the handwriting of Henry, it appears that twenty places were

* *Stevens's Monasticon*, vol. ii. p. 279. from *Browne Willis on Mitred Abbeys.*

† See *Strype*, vol. i. p. 540.

marked out for new bishoprics; but these good intentions were afterwards abandoned.

In addition to these foundations, the institutions which Henry raised out of the monastic ruins are not so unworthy of notice as some historians would lead us to suppose. To this king, Canterbury, Coventry, and Worcester are indebted for their free schools; Cambridge for Trinity College, and for the completion of King's College chapel; and both universities for professorships in law, in physic, and in divinity.* The city of London owes to Henry the Eighth, not only the possession of its hospitals, but of one of the most respectable grammar schools in this country; in particular that of Christ-church, formerly Grey Friars, which Henry bestowed upon the city for charitable purposes, and which was afterwards converted by Edward the Sixth into a school.† To all these purposes, the revenues of the monasteries contributed in no very trifling degree; and to some they afforded the sole provision.

It had been well if Henry had ever contented himself with the possession of the monasteries, and the dispersion of their inhabitants; but he, who

* A court of augmentation was erected in the 27th year of Henry the Eighth, for the sale and regulation of all abbey lands; but it was dissolved in the reign of Mary, 1555. See *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 349.

† *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 339.

in the earlier part of his reign, had "hated the shedding of man's blood*," had now become so irascible and impatient of contradiction, that nothing but the most tragical vengeance could satisfy his wrath. The prior of Woburn was suspected of disaffection, and was prevailed upon to submit to the king, and to acknowledge his supremacy; but having joined with the rebellion, he was afterwards executed with several other abbots and priors. The abbots of Glastonbury and of Reading were attainted for having assisted the rebels, and were executed with the abbot of Colchester, who was also arraigned of treason. The execution of friar Forest followed the death of these unfortunate men. Forest was suspected of an adherence to the Pope, but as all the clergy had sworn to support the regal supremacy, the friar was obliged to spread his opinions with as much secrecy as the active superintendance of the king's agents would permit. His disaffection being, however, discovered, he was suspended at Smithfield in chains, by the waist, to a gallows under which was kindled a fire; and in order to destroy the reverence of a certain image called Darvell Gatheren, about which it had been foretold that it should set a forest on fire, it was brought from Wales, and was added to the pile which consumed friar Forest.

* *Herbert.*

This execution was followed by a scene so inconsistent with the late measures which the English monarch had lately countenanced, as to afford considerable satisfaction to the papists. A priest named John Nicolson, but usually called Lambert, had incurred the displeasure of the late primate, Warham, for heretical opinions, and had been persecuted with rigour by that archbishop. On the death of Warham, Lambert had procured his discharge; but falling afterwards into fresh troubles concerning a dispute about the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament, he appealed to the king. Henry received the appeal, and, proud of his polemical abilities, rejoiced to have an opportunity for displaying his skill. The bishops and the temporal lords, the judges, counsel, and a great number of spectators, assembled in Whitehall, where scaffolds were erected for the convenience of hearing. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, and not Day, as Collier* and Burnet have related, opened the pleadings. The speech of that prelate has been given at full length by Collier, and it affords an example of the strange medley of papistry

* This assertion of Collier, that it was Day, must have been incorrect. It is, however, followed by all historians, nevertheless Day was not consecrated Bishop of Chichester until 1543. See *Bishop Day's Life. Lives of the Compilers*, p. 108. Fuller makes no mention of Day on this occasion.

and Lutheranism in the mind of Henry, from whom Sampson doubtless received his instructions. "Lambert," said he, "being accused of heretical pravity, had appealed to the king, as if he expected that the king would protect an heretic; there was reason to apprehend that the prisoner was really affected with the Lutheran novelties; with regard to these tenets, the king had, it is true, disincorporated some bodies of idle monks who lived like drones in a bee-hive; he had removed the idolatrous regard for images, had given the Bible in English, and had made some lesser alterations in the church. But, for all this, he was determined to adhere to the Catholic faith and customs, and being very desirous that the prisoner should be reclaimed from his errors, he had assembled those persons of piety and learning who would be most likely to wrest those unfortunate opinions from him. But if the prisoner proved obstinate, he was resolved to make him an example, and thus to afford the magistracy a precedent, how they ought to manage heresy, and to behave on similar occasions." After this intimidating address, the king entered the lists of disputation, by a stern question, concerning Lambert's opinion "of Christ's presence in the sacrament of the altar?" Lambert not returning a satisfactory answer, a formal and regular disputation, after the fashion

of the schools, was commenced between the king and the schoolmaster, Lambert endeavouring to throw in a compliment to the learning, judgment, and condescension of the king, and Henry, with an austere countenance, desiring him, in Latin, "to come close to the point." He then asked Lambert a second time "whether Christ's body was really in the sacrament or not;" a question to which the prisoner, who began to be somewhat daunted, replied in the words of Saint Austin, "that it was Christ's body in a certain manner." After some wrangling on the subject, the royal disputant was seconded by Cranmer, who was reinforced, in his turn, by Gardiner. Tonstall came next, arguing from the omnipotence of God, that what appeared impossible, was not so with the Supreme Being. Then came Stokesley, who thought he could deduce an argument from the appearances of nature, and he instanced the evaporation of water into steam, by which he inferred that one substance might be converted into another, the elements still remaining. This mode of reasoning by analogy, being then uncommon, gained great admiration. The argument of Stokesley was, however, fallacious: for it would be impossible to change one substance into another, of which the component parts are entirely dissimilar from the first elements; as in the case of the

imaginary conversion of the body and blood of Christ into the bread and wine. After being released from Stokesley, the unfortunate Lambert was attacked by six other bishops, but without bringing him to a recantation, although he was at last overwhelmed by the number and importance of his opponents, and driven into silence. When this singular trial was ended, after five hours' disputation, the king asked Lambert "if he were not satisfied, and whether he was resolved to live or die?" Lambert replied that he would throw himself entirely upon his highness's mercy; but the king told the prisoner that he would be no patron to heretics, and that therefore since Lambert declined any farther acknowledgment, he must suffer for his obstinacy. Cromwell, though favouring the Gospellers, as the Lutherans in this country were then called, was too careful of his own interests to dispute the opinions of his master.* In his office of vicegerent, he passed the sentence of burning upon the innocent Lambert, and in a letter to Sir Thomas Wyatt, then in Germany, extolled the conduct of Henry. "It was a wonder," he said, "to see how princely, and with how excellent gravity, and inestimable majesty, his highness exercised there the very supreme head of the church of England. How

* *Burnet*, vol. i.

benignly his grace essayed to convert the miserable man; how strong were the reasons he alleged against him. I wish," says the politic statesman, "the princes and potentates of Europe to have had a meet place to have seen it. Undoubtedly they should much have marvelled at his majesty's most high wisdom and judgment; and reputed him no otherwise after the same than in manner the mirror and light of all other princes and kings in Christendom."*

The unfortunate and magnanimous Lambert met his fate with great heroism; when his legs and thighs were partially burned, there being not sufficient fire to consume the rest of his body, two of the officers lifted it up with their halberts, and then dropped it into the flames; Lambert crying out until speech failed him, "none but Christ, none but Christ." Thus perished another victim to bigotry.†

At the time that this trial took place, four German anabaptists, three men and a woman, were obliged to do penance at St. Paul's Cross; and two of the same sect and nation were burned in Smithfield. These persons were tried and convicted by Cranmer, attended by three other prelates. These cruelties were a renewal of

Nov. 20, 1538.

* *Collier, Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 153.

† *Hist. Ref.* vol. i. p. 401.

similar persecutions in 1535, when fourteen of these adventurers, who refused to recant, had been committed to the flames. Such events plainly proved that Henry, when he chose to reform the church himself, was not pleased that others should follow his example.

The conduct of Cranmer in the foregoing persecutions has been justly censured by historians as displaying a servile compliance with the reigning powers, especially since the opinions for which Lambert suffered were those for which he was himself afterwards condemned. Yet it is some excuse for the Primate, that the doctrines which he professed at this period, as far as regards transubstantiation, were those of the Papists in general, for in the work entitled, "The necessary Erudition for a Christian Man," published in 1543, and subscribed by Cranmer, the doctrine of transubstantiation is evidently maintained. It is therefore charitable and reasonable to suppose, that the sentiments of Cranmer were subsequently altered. The opinions of Latimer on this delicate point resembled those which Cranmer at this period professed, yet Latimer was indisputably sincere and ardent in the cause of reform. "I was a Papist," said Latimer, "at the Oxford disputation, in the reign of Queen Mary, for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without

admitting transubstantiation.* Nor was it to be expected that old prejudices, inculcated as infallible doctrines in the minds of youth, should be completely abandoned until long after the Reformation had shed its beneficial light upon mankind. The remark, which Sir Philip Sydney applied to the poet Chaucer, may be transferred to Cranmer with respect to the views on religious subjects which he entertained. "I wonder," says the author of the Arcadia, "how in those misty times he could see so clearly, and how others, in such clear times, could go on so blindly."†

It was doubtless perceived by Cranmer that a violent opposition to the measures adopted by Henry, at this time, would not only be unavailing, but might materially injure the party whose interests the primate fondly desired to promote. A revolution in the councils of Henry had gradually been gaining ground. Stung and mortified by the reiterated censures of the Pope, Henry had latterly seemed inclined to manifest that, while he asserted his own supremacy, he had no disposition to alter the ancient doctrines of the church. Unhappily for the nation, this inconsistent line of conduct was encouraged by a powerful party at court: and the Protestants

* See *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 151.

† See *Hayward's Life of Edward the Sixth*, p. 141.

saw, with dread, that the king had begun to veer to the papistical faction.

Among the nobility, the chief advocate of the old doctrine was the Duke of Norfolk, the prime minister. The influence of that peer was counterbalanced by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the favourite of Henry and of the people, who remained a zealous partizan of the Protestant cause until his death. Gardiner, who had felt secret chagrin at the protection afforded by Henry to the reformers, was recalled to court, and commanded to preach at St. Paul's during Lent. This prelate was an insidious and determined enemy to the Protestant faction, although his keenness after preferment had, for some time, deterred him from expressing such sentiments. Bonner, whom Cranmer and Cromwell considered as one of their warm adherents, had been promoted to the see of Hereford, and afterwards to that of London; and he proved, when the veil was laid aside, a most inveterate and implacable foe to the dissemination of the reformed doctrines. Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, had lately preached in favour of regal supremacy, and had inveighed bitterly against the pride and corruptions of the court of Rome; but he was far from wishing to overturn the basis of that religious worship which he, in unison with many others, still

reverenced as the foundation of all holiness. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, was so notable an opponent to the supremacy of the king, and so strenuous a supporter of the old superstitions, that he had been committed to the Tower about this time, by Cromwell, upon the discovery of some misdemeanors in his diocese. This man fully unfolded the sentiments of some of the prelates, upon his examination before Cromwell. The bishops of Durham, Winchester, and London, had entered, as he affirmed, into a combination to maintain the ancient superstitions of the church, and Tonstall carried about with him an old Greek book, in which several points, controverted by theologians, were decided, and a maintenance of the traditions of the church were enjoined. The Bishop of Winchester, in particular, was of opinion that old traditions ought not to be broken without great cause, and that none of the ceremonies of the church should be omitted, and Hilseley, Bishop of Rochester, coincided with Gardiner, but without the designing and bitter spirit of that artful prelate. The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Carlisle, Bath, and Bangor, united with these prelates, constituted a powerful phalanx to the dismay of the depressed and terrified reformers. Opposed to this faction, were Cranmer, Cromwell, the Bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and of Worcester. Among these

Cranmer and Cromwell were the only efficient supporters of their cause: Latimer, although a good man, was far from possessing abilities equal to his zeal; Shaxton was proud and overbearing; Barlow wanted discretion; and the whole party were disheartened by the consciousness that the heart of the king was not with them.*

The parliament met on the twenty-eighth of April, and, unfortunately for the Protes-
1539. tant cause, the parliamentary abbots, for the last time, had their writs. The lord chancellor informed the house that the king, being desirous to put an end to all controversies in religion, had desired him to move for a committee to examine into the diversities of opinion, to draw up articles for an agreement, and to make their report to the house. The two archbishops, the bishops of Durham, Bath and Wells, Ely, Bangor, Carlisle, and Worcester, with Cromwell the vicegerent, were then appointed; but Cromwell, Worcester, Ely, and Canterbury, differing from the other five, no decision could be made. After a disputation of eleven days, the Duke of Norfolk informed the house, that the committee could come to no decision; he, therefore, proposed for the consideration of the house some questions, the

* *Burnet.*

answers to which might, upon examination, be framed into an act. The points proposed were transubstantiation, sacrament in both kinds, vows of chastity, private masses, and the marriage of priests.

The articles deduced from these points were courageously resisted by Cranmer for three days, and the arguments he employed united so much discretion with zeal, that the king desired to have a copy of his speeches; but all the eloquence of the primate proved unavailing, for it was understood that the disputed articles were framed with the especial approbation of the king. Henry, indeed, entered the house on the second day of the debate, and bore down all the opponents of the bill, by his appearance and his arguments; Cranmer resisted to the last, and being desired by the king to leave the house, since he could not agree to the propositions which were urged, he redeemed his character for courage and integrity, and modestly, but resolutely declared, "that he conceived it to be his duty to remain, and to announce his dissent."* The bill passed rapidly through both houses; it was introduced on the thirtieth of May, finished and sent up to the lords on the 14th of June, and received the king's signature on the 28th day of that month. Henry, delighted with the ready compliance of the parliament to his desires, con-

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 168.

gratulated them on their unanimity, and desired them to prepare a bill enacting penalties on those who should oppose any doctrines which he chose to prescribe. Two committees from the opposing parties were appointed for this purpose, and the bills they severally prepared were presented in parliament. That which was adopted was calculated, unfortunately, to afford the highest satisfaction to the papists, and to strike terror into the hearts of the reformers. It contained those celebrated injunctions, which, from their cruel and calamitous effects, obtained the well-merited name of the "bloody articles."*

* *The Six Articles.*

Import of the first.—If any person teach or preach or hold opinion that in the blessed sacrament of bread and wine, after the consecration, there is not the real body of Jesus Christ; or that after the consecration the substance which remaineth be any thing but the substance of Christ, God and man; then shall he be judged an heretic, and suffer death by burning, and all his goods and chattels, lands and tenements, be forfeit to the king, as for high treason. II. Or if any person should preach that the receiving the sacrament in both kinds be necessary for man's soul, or that it is necessary to be received by any other than the priest celebrating mass. III. Or that any man, after the order of priesthood received, may marry or contract marriage. IV. Or that any man or woman, who hath advisedly vowed or professed or should vow or profess chastity, may marry. V. Or that private masses be not lawful, or not laudable, and should not be used, and are not agreeable to the laws. VI. Or that auricular confession is not expedient and necessary to be used in the church of God; he shall be adjudged to suffer death, and to forfeit lands and goods as a felon. *Herbert*, p. 508.

This iniquitous statute filled the country with indignation, the expression of which was restrained only by the fear of a tyrant, who was so obsequiously seconded by his parliament. Shaxton and Latimer, conscious of having given offence to Henry by the violence of their opposition, resigned their bishoprics. Cranmer, afflicted both for public and private reasons, bent before the impending storm; having married the niece of Osiander before his installation in the see of Canterbury, he now sent his wife hastily into Germany; constrained to submit to circumstances which he could not avert. It is true that he had never dared openly to acknowledge his wife, but his marriage had not only been generally known, but had even been imitated by many of the clergy. The prompt compliance of the archbishop with the terms of the act was highly acceptable to Henry, who, to assure him of a continuance in his favour, sent Cromwell, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to dine with him at Lambeth. These noblemen were instructed to inform Cranmer, that the king, far from resenting his opposition to the bill, commended the discretion, learning, and eloquence with which he had resisted it; that his manner in the discussion had been so prudent, that he need not apprehend ill-will from any whom he had opposed. Cardinal Wolsey, they observed, had lost even his friends by his over-

bearing temper, while the archbishop gained even his enemies to his side by his affability of deportment. To this Cromwell added, "that Cranmer was particularly fortunate in the opinion of the king, for if the representations against him were ever so strong, the king disregarded them at once; but if he or others of the council were censured, his highness deemed it necessary to sift the whole matter thoroughly." Upon this the Duke of Norfolk remarked, that none knew Wolsey's temper better than Cromwell, "for you, my lord," said he, addressing the vicegerent, "were once in the service of the Cardinal." Cromwell, who had no desire that the steps by which he had climbed to his present elevation should be recalled to his recollection in so abrupt and impertinent a manner, resented this speech as an affront, and replied, "I never liked Wolsey's management so well as the duke seems to have done; for you, my lord, promised to wait upon Wolsey as his admiral at Rome, when he should become Pope;" and he then specified how many florins the duke was to have received as his salary. Norfolk protested that this was a falsehood, and a quarrel ensued between the two ministers. This difference, although appeased at the time by Cranmer, yet, occasioned a breach between Norfolk and Cromwell, which was never afterwards repaired*; and which added strength

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 169.

to the party of Gardiner. Bonner, also, soon deserted his benefactors, Cranmer and Cromwell, and became an adherent to the cause which he secretly preferred, and to which he felt increased devotion when he perceived its ascendancy in the council. The zeal of Shaxton, like that of all obstreperous declaimers, proved to be hollow and worthless; he was too good a courtier not to return to that religion which the king, whose mind it was difficult to fathom, appeared at this time to prefer; and accordingly, we find this prelate preaching at the burning of Anne Askew; engaging afterwards actively against the Protestants in the reign of Queen Mary, and an examiner of heretics until the close of his life.* Latimer, who with Shaxton, was imprisoned for a short time after the publishing of the articles, remained firm to the Protestant cause, notwithstanding the efforts made by the contrary party towards his conversion. Soon after the resignation of his bishopric, a bishop, conjectured to have been Gardiner, sent for him, and expressed his surprise that Latimer should object to the traditions then enjoined by the council as matters of belief. Latimer answered boldly that "he would be guided by God's book, and rather than dissent one jot from it, he would be torn by wild horses." In the course of his argument, happening to name

* *Strpye*, vol. i. p. 544.

the Lord's Supper, "tush," said the bishop, "what new term is that?" One Dr. Dubber standing by, observed, "that that term was seldom read in the doctors." Latimer replied, "that he would rather follow St. Paul in using that term than he would abide by the opinion of those who were present, though they had all the doctors on their side." "Why," said the bishop, "cannot we order the people without the Scriptures? How did they before the Scriptures were translated?" Such was still the opinion of the papistical party respecting the insignificance of the Bible.*

To idle and obscure ceremonies importance was still, however, attached by the zealous Romanists; and a book was this year compiled by Gardiner and his friends placing the ancient rituals in as fair a light as possible, in the hope of re-establishing them in the church. To this work Cranmer wrote an elaborate reply; and it was, probably, the force of his reasoning which determined Henry to reject the production of Gardiner and his associates.

Among their fears and distresses, the Protestants had still some consolation with regard to the proceedings of the last parliament. Every person accused of infringing one of the six articles, was entitled to a trial by jury,

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 545.

before commissioners nominated by the king; so that the cause could not be brought before a court composed of clergy, perhaps infuriated by the inroads which the reformers had already made upon their wealth and immunities; the archbishop or bishop of the diocese was to be one of the commissioners. Another source of satisfaction to the reformers was, that the king not only still permitted the use of the Scriptures in churches, but that he had passed an act, a short time before that of the six articles, authorizing the free perusal of the Scriptures in private houses, and by every description of person.* But, notwithstanding these mitigating circumstances in their extremity, the dread of the six articles caused many of the reformers to flee from their country into Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, to enjoy that liberty of conscience without which there can be no real happiness, even in the most prosperous country. Among these were Hooper and Rogers, afterwards distinguished champions of Protestantism, and many young men of noble family and of fortune, so that Henry, in all probability,
1540. was not without some fears that a nation, irritated as England had been by the decrees of varying councils, and disturbed by

* Before this statute, no person below the rank of a gentleman was admitted to the reading of the Holy Scriptures.

the most ardent of all passions, religious zeal, would not peaceably submit to every fresh restraint which he might choose to impose. The king appears even to have feared his personal safety; and, this year, the band of gentlemen pensioners, whom he had disbanded in the early part of his reign, were reimbodied, and assembled round the person of the sovereign.

While Cromwell remained in favour with the king, the severities of the late act were either suspended, or were not enforced according to the letter, but the reformers were not destined long to possess this powerful friend, who had hitherto served as a strong hold for their defence. Cromwell already perceived the change which had taken place in the disposition of Henry, and became fully sensible of his own danger. One resource alone of which he might avail himself, in order to avert the calamities which threatened at once his own life and the cause of the Protestants, suggested itself to Cromwell. He had long desired to effect a system of cooperation between the Lutheran princes of Germany and Henry; but the union had been alternately postponed or rejected by Henry, who preferred taking his own course, and who could never entirely agree with any two persons upon the subject of religion; his opinions, as he called them, being dictated by his passions, influenced

by caprice, and maintained, not with firmness, but with conceit. Cromwell had not been admitted during the course of his ministry to that extreme intimacy with the king which had characterized the communication which More and Wolsey had held with the sovereign; but he knew enough of his master to perceive, that feminine influence obtained a stronger sway over the mind of Henry than even the powerful talents of those distinguished men, by whom, in the course of his reign, this king was usually surrounded. The spirited Anne Bullen and the amiable Jane Seymour had both exerted their persuasive powers in favour of the Protestants; and Cromwell reasonably concluded that if he could again engage the king in an union which proved propitious to the Lutheran cause, the evils resulting from the invidious councils of Gardiner might yet be averted; and the ascendancy which that able but unprincipled prelate had acquired, might yield to the influence of milder and more enlightened advisers. The state of widowerhood, in which Henry had now continued during two years, had not altogether proceeded from regret for the beloved wife of whom he had been bereaved, at the moment when she had conferred upon him that blessing which he had long most earnestly desired. In the course of a month after the

death of Jane Seymour, Henry had solicited, according to Le Grand, the hand of Marie, Dowager Dutchess de Longueville, and daughter of the Duc de Guise; but Marie preferred the youthful King of Scotland, James the Fifth, to whom she had been already contracted; a choice which proved extremely fortunate to the English Protestants; for Marie, who possessed all the bigotry of her race, influenced her husband to a great degree in religious concerns, and induced him to sanction the most horrible persecutions of the Scottish Protestants, of whom five hundred were, about this period, burned at one time. Marie was, however, relinquished with reluctance by Henry, who, although assured of her betrothment to James, was not easily to be discouraged from his suit. He had heard, from confidential sources, much of the acquirements and disposition of Marie; and had admired, from description, her person, which was one of ample dimensions, and suitable, therefore, to his taste.* For five months he persevered in his suit, and evinced his mortification at the disappointment inflicted by the relentless Marie, by refusing her permission to pass through England after her marriage with James. The king, in his turn, rejected a daughter

* *Lingard*, vol. vi.

of the Duc de Vendome, because she had been previously offered to his nephew, the king of Scotland; and he also declined espousing either of the sisters of the Dutchess de Longueville, on account of the refusal of Francis to exhibit them at Calais to his view. The Princess Christiana of Milan was then proposed to him by the emperor, but this overture not being pursued on the part of Charles, Henry listened with complacency to a proposition made by Cromwell, on the subject of a negociation with John, Duke of Cleves, concerning his daughter.* A negociation was, therefore, commenced, but the old duke dying before preliminaries were concluded, the affair went on between Henry and the brother of Anne, who succeeded his father. Cromwell was delighted at the readiness which Henry displayed to accede to this union; the Duke of Cleves had great interest among the princes of the Smalkaldic League, and Sybilla, the aunt of the Princess Anne, was married to the Elector of Saxony; he therefore adopted every means to prosper the continuance of Henry's resolution to espouse the Flemish princess. A flattering picture of Anne by Hans Holbein, together with that of her sister Isabel, was, therefore, sent over for the inspection of the

* *Herbert*, p. 514.

king; and this delineation of his future consort happened to please the fancy of Henry, who admired corpulency in women, a taste in which he was borne out by the fashion of the day. But if the painting mentioned by Mr. Walpole as a genuine portrait of Anne, and preserved in a family of Kent, be really a transcript of those features which afterwards gave such disgust to Henry, few persons, with our modern notions of beauty, would envy him the possession of such a wife, as far as personal charms are concerned.*

Some impediments delayed the negociation, and added to the solicitude of Henry to possess his bride. The Elector of Saxony, finding that the religious tenets enforced by Henry deviated widely from those of the Augsburg Confession, opposed the marriage for some time; and another obstacle presented itself in the form of a treaty between the father of Anne and the Duke of Lorrain, respecting an union between the young princess and the heir apparent of the territory of Lorrain; but, as both parties were under age, no positive engagement had been formed. All objections being at length removed, one of

* See *Walpole's Anecdotes of celebrated Painters.*

The head done for Henry in Germany is said by Grainger to be in the possession of Thomas Barret, Esq. *Grainger's Biog.* vol. i. p. 100.

the Counts palatine of the Rhine came over to England, with other ambassadors, to complete the negociation; and on the eleventh of
1539. December, the bride elect entered the English dominions. She was received at Calais by Paulett, lately created Earl of Southampton, and high admiral of England, and by several members of the royal household, among whom Sir Francis Bryan, and Sir Thomas Seymour of Sudely, who was afterwards a conspicuous character in British history, were noted for the strange fashion and great value of their habiliments. At Calais, Anne was obliged to remain a fortnight on account of adverse winds, so that it was not until the end of the month that the impatient Henry was gladdened by the tidings of her arrival at Deal. At length, however, the Flemish beauty reached the English shores, happily unconscious of the disgrace which awaited her, in the perilous honour of consort to the proud monarch of Britain. At Deal, Anne was received with every possible demonstration of respect by Sir Thomas Cheney, warden of the ports, and was visited by the Duke and Dutchess of Suffolk, and other persons of the nobility, and accompanied by them to Dover. On her journey from Dover to Canterbury, she was met upon Barham Downs by the primate, and by several of the bishops;

and, in proceeding to Rochester, she encountered the Duke of Norfolk and the barons of the Exchequer, the Lord Mountjoy and Lord Dacre of the South, with a great retinue of knights and squires, who conducted her to Rochester, where she arrived on New Year's day.*

Henry, who was now at Greenwich, could no longer restrain his curiosity to behold his future consort, in whom he expected to find a worthy successor of his two former queens. He left the palace privately, telling Cromwell that he desired to behold the princess without pomp, in order to form an adequate idea of her mental and personal accomplishments, and, in his own words, to "nourish love." The first interview between Henry and his chosen bride must have been highly diverting to those spectators, who had no anticipation of the serious consequences which resulted from this meeting. The king, accompanied by a train of eight gentlemen of his privy chamber, and being with his party all attired in "marble coats," came suddenly into the presence of Anne, who received him with "most loving and gracious countenance," according to Hall, on her knees. The king, according to Sir Anthony Browne, started at the overweening appearance of the princess, whose plainness had already been re-

* *Hall*, p. 832.

marked both by the courtiers and the ladies who had seen her. Henry, who, in the words of an observer, was "marvellously astonished and abashed," could, however, muster sufficient self-controul to raise the clumsy princess from her kneeling attitude, and even to kiss her; but Sir Anthony Browne, an old and confidential attendant upon the king, declared in his subsequent deposition, "that he saw and noted in the king's countenance such a discontentment and misliking of her person, as he was very sorry for."* In the disapprobation of his master, Sir Anthony†, the husband of the celebrated Lady Elizabeth Fitz-Gerald, appears to have concurred; for he affirmed, that when he went into the chamber of the princess to present her with a new-year's gift from the king, "having "conceived in his mind, what was by pictures "and advertisements signified of her beauty "and qualities, at the general view of the "ladies," (the Flemish, probably,) "he thought "he saw no such thing there, and yet were the "other of better favour than the queen;" a very ungallant speech on the part of one who, as the partner of the fair Geraldine, ought to have been imbued with the very essence of chivalry. Sir Anthony still further declared, "that when "he was directed unto herself" (the Princess of

* *Strype.* † See *Nott's Life of Surrey*, p. 120.

Cleves), "and advisedly looked upon her, he "was never more dismayed in all his life, lament- "ing in his heart, which altered his outward "countenance, to see the lady so far unlike that "was reported, and of such sort as he thought "the king's highness should not content himself "with her." For a time, however, Henry managed to conceal his emotions of dislike to Anne from the public, although he privately lamented his disappointment to Cromwell, who asked him, on his return from Rochester, how he liked the queen? "Nothing so well as she was spoken of," replied the king, "and if I had known as much before, as I know now, she should not have come into this realm." To which he added, in a tone of lamentation, "what remedy?" a question which the minister could only answer, by saying "that he was very sorry for the king's distress."*

It is now time to specify some of those disadvantages, under the influence of which the unfortunate Anne excited universal disapprobation, disappointed the king, disconcerted the minister, and contributed to the disgust already excited in the mind of Henry towards the luckless Cromwell. In the reign of this monarch, the most trifling circumstances were elevated into an importance which frivolous occurrences usually

* *Burnet.*

acquire in the minds of those who are influenced by passion more than by reason. Anne was, in truth, an unsightly, large, ungraceful woman, with coarse features, a dark complexion, and with a heavy, inflexible, German countenance. Her manners were aukward, her powers of conversation limited, her disposition was serious, not from reflection, but from stupidity, and her feelings not easily to be excited. How could the husband of the sensible and even learned Katharine of Arragon, of the elegant, sprightly, and accomplished Anne Bullen, of the majestic, yet delicate Jane Seymour, assimilate with a woman who spoke no other language but her native Dutch, of all others the least pleasing to a refined ear; who was totally ignorant of music*, in which the king, since he had lost the power and inclination to join in active sports, had taken particular delight; and whose general deportment was so "ungainly†," that it excited the surprize and ridicule of all who approached her? It was not, either, to be expected, that a man like Henry would calmly acquiesce in an arrangement by which he was compelled to accept such a partner, and, with his strict notions of the conjugal tie, to exclude all other women from becoming objects of interest and affection. He had no sooner beheld his affianced bride, therefore, than he began to

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 492.

† *Strype*, vol. i. p. 2.

reflect how he could possibly dissolve the contract, and return the foreign lady to her own country. He overcame, indeed, his repugnance to Anne sufficiently to send her a present on the following morning of "a partlet furred with sables and richly garnished, sable skins garnished to wear round her neck, a muffley furred, and a capp," which he dispatched by Sir Anthony Browne "with as cold and single a message as may be;"* and perplexed as he was, Henry thought it expedient not to discover himself to Anne at present, but to treat her with seeming respect, well knowing that the Germans warmly resent an offence offered to any member of their families.

Meanwhile Anne proceeded on her journey to London, and was met by a procession from the city, and by the king's household, on Blackheath. Here she was conducted into a tent prepared for her reception by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and was joined by several peeresses of the highest rank and consideration. The king on being apprized of her arrival, came forth to meet her, himself and his attendants in a most costly attire, and "his goodly personage and royal gesture" far exceeding the splendours of his dress. Anne, when informed of the king's approach, was seated on a horse richly

* *Strype*, vol. i. p. 2.

caparisoned, on which she rode into the middle of the heath, where she and Henry alighted from their steeds, and "lovingly" embraced each other in sight of the assembled multitudes. They then proceeded together to the palace at Greenwich, in the court-yard of which, Henry, who had an unwelcome part to perform, was again, by the rules of etiquette, obliged to alight from his horse and to kiss the object of his aversion, bidding her welcome to her house. On the Tuesday following, the day of the Epiphany, the marriage was celebrated about eight in the morning; "his grace," says Hall, "being ap-"parelled in a gown of cloth of gold, raised with "great flowers of silver, furred with black jenets, "and a crimson surcoat tied with great diamonds, "and a rich collar about his neck, came solemnly "with his nobility into the gallery next the "closets, and there paused." The report of the chronicler sounds well, but those who were behind the scenes had had some difficulty in persuading the king to assume his bridal attire; and he proceeded to the ceremonial with such an air of repugnance, that no woman but Anne could have failed to perceive his reluctance. Even as he walked through the gallery, the king was heard to mutter something about not "giving his entire and hearty consent," and the inauspicious words "must needs" were distinctly perceptible

to the quick and curious ears of the listening courtiers.* Then the lords went to fetch the Lady Anne, who was apparelled in a gown of rich cloth of gold, set full of large flowers of great and orient pearl, made after the Dutch fashion; round her hair, which was fair, yellow, and long, hanging in tresses, was a coronal of gold studded with great stones, and interspersed with bunches of rosemary; and about her neck and person were placed ornaments of great value. In this attire, Anne was conducted between the Earl of Oversten and the Grand Master Hostoden, who had the management and direction of the ceremonials on this occasion, "and with most demure countenance and sad behaviour†," this party passed through the royal apartments, preceded by the English lords, till they came to the gallery where the king stood, awaiting the moment of his penance. The unconscious princess made three low curtsies to the king, little thinking that Henry had been with difficulty persuaded by Cromwell and the Flemish envoys to perform the contract, or that he had expressed his sense of the coming event, on the preceding night, by saying, "that he had a great yoke to go into." Happily, however, for Anne, she had not that troublesome refinement of feeling which is accompanied

* *Burnet.* † *Hall.*

by a ready apprehension of the sentiments of others; she was perfectly insensible to the disgust with which she inspired Henry, and, when she was at last with difficulty brought to a conviction of the truth, she bore it with a composure very much to be envied by all persons who may happen to be placed in similar situations.

The ceremony, performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was, however concluded, and Henry, as if in judgment for his cruel and capricious conduct to two of the most admirable women of their time, was linked to one whom he abhorred; a retribution, indeed, not wholly adequate to his offences, especially as he soon found means to dispossess himself of his new queen. A few days after the ceremony, most of the attendants who had accompanied Anne, departed, leaving a small number of foreigners to wait upon her, until her acquaintance with this country should have reconciled her to the change in her household. But the poor queen was doomed to meet with other mortifications than a mere separation from the friends to whose society she had been accustomed. Henry had, indeed, espoused her, and the honours due to her as queen were assigned to the princess; but the dislike of the king increasing upon further acquaintance, he declared his intention to Cromwell to annul his marriage at all hazards. Cromwell, who now

saw the mistake which he had committed, knew it to be vain to oppose the wishes of the king, who told him, that "he had since Whitsuntide done as much to move the consent of his heart and mind as ever man did, and that he took God to witness, the obstacle would never out of his mind." With more caution than usual, Henry had, however, the discretion to conceal his disgust from the queen, whom he continued to treat with tolerable politeness; and the address to maintain an appearance of favour towards Cromwell; but he could not forgive the unfortunate favourite this injudicious arrangement; and the disagreeable qualities of Anne, who seemed born to pass through the world without producing any great sensation, accelerated, if they did not occasion the ruin of one of the most important characters of this reign.

There were, however, other circumstances which hastened the decline of Cromwell in the estimation of the king. It has been already stated that Gardiner, his secret but determined enemy, had been recalled, and ordered to preach, during Lent, at Saint Paul's cross. Presuming upon the present temper of the king, the bishop seized that opportunity of censuring the opinions of those, who, in conformity with the Lutheran doctrines, maintained the justification of faith, without good works, in the papistical

Feb. 14, 1540.

signification. This sermon was attacked, on the other side, by one Barnes, a disciple of the martyred Bilney, and formerly prior of the Augustines in Cambridge; a man of great learning, and one of the revivers of classic literature in Cambridge. Barnes had also been employed by Cromwell in various embassies, and he considered that minister as his patron and friend. It was sufficient to be a dependant of Cromwell, for Barnes to meet with his ruin at the hands of Gardiner; and besides publicly maintaining the Lutheran doctrines, Barnes, like many other of his persuasion, was both uncharitable and indiscreet, at so critical a period, in braving and in provoking the enmity of the opposite party, by lavishing bitter invectives upon their tenets. He was summoned before the king, who entered with him upon the controverted points, and persuaded him to sign a recantation, commanding him, at the same time, to preach in favour of the opinions upheld by Gardiner, on the first convenient opportunity. Barnes appeared to comply, but on the first Sunday after Easter, he delivered a sermon justifying his former doctrines in the most vehement terms. He was instantly committed to the Tower, with Garret and Jerome, two Protestant ministers, and was afterwards burned at Smithfield.

July 30, 1540.

Henry was much irritated by the tenacity displayed by Barnes in maintaining his opinions,

and extended his displeasure to Cromwell, whom he began to regard as the favourer of heretics. The downfall, therefore, of the vicegerent was now confidently expected; and it was even rumoured that his office of vicar-general was already bestowed upon Tonstall, Bishop of Durham; while that of keeper of the privy seal, was also assigned, by report, to Clarke, Bishop of Bath.

CHAP. IX.

Proceedings in Parliament against Cromwell. — Letter from Cromwell to the King. — Proceedings to procure a divorce from Anne of Cleves; the marriage declared null and void. — Bill passed in Parliament concerning Royal Marriages. — Death of Barnes, Jerome and Gerrard. — Marriage of Henry with Katharine Howard. — Disturbances in Yorkshire. — Execution of the Marchioness of Salisbury. — Henry's progress into Yorkshire. — The delinquency of Katharine Howard; her death, together with that of Lady Rochford. — Alterations in Church Worship. — The book of Homilies. — New summary of Religion. — Public measures. — Marriage of King to Katharine Parr.

DURING this state of affairs, parliament met, and was addressed for the last time by
April 12, 1540. Cromwell. "The king," he said, "desired nothing so much as a firm union among his subjects: he knew that there were many incendiaries, and that much cockle grew up with the wheat; the rashness of some, and the inveterate superstitions of others, had raised great dissensions, to the regret of all good Christians. Some were called papists, others heretics, which seemed the more strange, since now the Holy Scriptures, by the king's care,

were in the hands of the people, in a language which they understood. The king, therefore, being determined that the Christian faith should be set forth, free from any corruptions, and yet a decent use of ceremonies continued, was resolved to punish all transgressors, and that Christ should have the sole victory, he had therefore appointed two committees of bishops, with the two archbishops at their head, to draw up all exposition of those things that were necessary for the institution of a Christian man, and to decide what ceremonies ought to be continued."* The lords approved of the committee, and ordered them to sit constantly on certain days. Cromwell concluded his speech with the most extravagant praises of the king; and Henry, on his part, wishing, for what reason it is impossible to devise, still to keep up the appearance of favour towards his minister, created him Earl of Essex, two days after the opening of parliament, the last of the Bourchiers who had held that title having lately died in consequence of a fall from his horse. Henry added, besides, the office of chancellor of the Exchequer, into which Cromwell was installed, and to which he annexed a grant of thirty manors which had belonged to suppressed monasteries. For some days, Cromwell conducted the business of the state in

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 599.

the same manner as usual: a bill, introduced by him, passed the house, suppressing the knights of Saint John of Jerusalem, which occasioned so much distress to the prior, Sir William Weston, that his death, which happened soon afterwards, is thought to have been the consequence of that proceeding. Deceived by the manifestations of favour which were held out to him by the king, Cromwell entertained so little suspicion that Henry was meditating his destruction, that he had even recently gone so far as to threaten the Duke of Norfolk, Gardiner, and the Bishop of Bath, with the displeasure of Henry, on account of the violence of their proceedings. His ruin was, however a decided point, for Henry had become weary of the unpopularity in which the later proceedings of his unstable government had involved him, and was easily induced to believe that Cromwell had betrayed him into the general censure which the violent, yet vacillating temper of the king had actually brought upon his measures. Cromwell had been unfortunate in many of his counsels. His desire to prosper the cause of Reformation had led him to seek an alliance with the Lutheran princes of Germany, an union which had been constantly frustrated by the inconsistency and vanity of Henry, by his obstinacy on points of minor importance, and by his prejudices and bigotry with respect to

some of the leading doctrines of the church. The ill-assorted marriage of Anne of Cleves, was also a subject of perpetual discontent to Henry, who began to regard Cromwell as one, who interfering in all things, defeated success by his want of address and management. But the most powerful arguments against him, in the mind of Henry, arose from those selfish inclinations which chiefly influenced all the actions of this monarch.

It is a singular reflection, that the three greatest statesmen of this period are all supposed to have encountered disasters which terminated in ruin, from the influence of female charms. Wolsey and More were doubtless hastened to their fall by the ascendancy of Anne Bullen; and the destruction of Cromwell's fortunes is said to have been completed by the favour with which the king began to regard Katharine Howard. That young and beautiful, but dissolute woman, was the unworthy daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, a brother of the Duke of Norfolk, and a distinguished commander at the battle of Flodden.

Gardiner, who was the chief instrument in introducing Katharine to the king, by bringing them together at his house, in several entertainments, was aware how an important accession of interest might be added to his party, if a

niece of his grand ally, the Duke of Norfolk, should become the consort, or even the mistress of the king. The power which was derived from this new attachment was not allowed to remain unemployed with regard to the vicegerent. Besides the political and religious differences which subsisted between Cromwell and the faction of which Gardiner was the soul, there were various reasons which produced enmity between the papistical party and the prime minister. Cromwell was not only a man of very low extraction, but was destitute of that dignity and personal favour which had obliterated the recollection of Wolsey's origin, in the minds of all those who had approached him. The ancient nobility, attached chiefly to the Roman Catholic church, viewed with indignation the son of a blacksmith keeping up a degree of state, which persons of high birth were alone entitled to maintain. The proud descendants of a long line of ancestry could, however, endure that the check-roll of Cromwell's domestics should exceed their own in length, and that his liveries should outvie theirs in splendour*: but nothing could equal their surprize and indignation, when they beheld Cromwell installed a knight of the Order of the Garter, for which an honourable lineage is specified by the statute as an indis-

* See *Weaver*.

pensable qualification; nor could the circumstance of his having been a member of the military profession, excuse the act of presumption which Cromwell committed in accepting the honour.

Dislike towards an upstart favourite, being thus united to the virulent animosities which dissensions on religious subjects had unhappily originated, the stability of that power which Cromwell exercised was undermined by the machinations of Norfolk and Gardiner, long before the fall of the minister was actually effected. Two years before his ruin, Cromwell had foretold his fate, and had endeavoured to make such a provision for himself and his family, as should prevent the possibility of those pecuniary distresses which had aggravated the bitterness of Wolsey's humiliation.* Like many other men under similar circumstances, Cromwell had never been less conscious of danger than at the moment of its crisis. On the morning of his apprehension, by the king's orders, he attended the House of Lords as usual; but was arrested, in the afternoon, at the council, by the Duke of Norfolk, and committed to the Tower.

June 10, 1540.

The unfortunate Cromwell now experienced the bitterness of ingratitude and treachery in

* See *Life of Cromwell, Eccl. Biog.* vol. ii.

their utmost poignancy; for, although he had been a lavish benefactor to all his partizans, yet, one friend only stepped forward to befriend him in his extremity. Cranmer, in this hour of peril to one in whose views he had cordially coincided, interceded in behalf of Cromwell with the king, to whom he addressed a letter on the subject. In this epistle, Cranmer extolled the diligence which Cromwell had continually exerted in the service of his sovereign; and he affirmed, that Cromwell had always loved the king above all things. "No King of England," said the archbishop, "had ever possessed a more faithful servant than Cromwell; and upon that account he (Cranmer) loved Cromwell as one that loved the king." But, if Cromwell were a traitor, the archbishop declared himself that he was glad he was found out. In conclusion, Cranmer "prayed God to send such a chancellor* in his stead, as would serve the king as Cromwell had done."† This intercession was unavailing, and had not the high respect which Henry entertained for Cranmer prevailed over the usual violence of the king's temper, the archbishop would likewise have felt the danger of provoking his wrath. The bill of attainder against Cromwell, was passed hastily through the House of Lords;

* Cromwell was Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 503.

and Cranmer, hopeless of serving his friend, absented himself, determined not to become a party in the sentence against him. In the Commons, the bill remaining ten days without assent, it was at length altered, and a proviso was annexed to the attainder.*

In the conviction of Cromwell, the common forms of justice were set aside, in refusing to the unfortunate minister any opportunity of confronting his accusers: an instance of retributive justice; for Cromwell, during the last year, had permitted the conviction and death of others without trial. The articles charged against Cromwell in the bill of attainder amounted chiefly to these: "That the king, having "raised Thomas, Lord Cromwell, from a base "condition, to great dignities and trusts, had "now, by the testimony of honourable witnesses, "found him to be the most corrupt traitor "and deceiver of the king and crown that "had ever been known in his whole domi-"nions: that he had been known to say of "heretical preachers, that their discourses were "good; that he had encouraged heresy, and "had been heard to say that he would defend it "against the king in the field; that pulling out "his dagger, he had exclaimed with an oath, "that he wished that weapon might stab him in

* *Burnet*, p. 504.

" the heart if he would not die in that quarrel ; " but that he hoped, if he lived a year or two, " that it would not be in the king's power to " resist, if he would." Another charge alleged against Cromwell was, that he had, by oppression and bribery, amassed a great estate; and, thus enriched, that he had treated the nobility with contempt; and that, when reminded by some persons of his elevation, he had declared, that " if the lords would handle him so, he would " give them such a breakfast as never was " made in England, and that the proudest of " them should know it." Upon these accusations, unanswered and unproved, the unfortunate minister was condemned to suffer the death either of an heretic or of a traitor, according to royal pleasure. The confiscation of his estates and goods followed this sentence.*

Many were the acts of injustice and cruelty of which Henry was guilty during the course of his reign ; but, in no instance, does his conduct display a greater degree of ingratitude than in the destruction of Cromwell. In the management of the monastic affairs, Cromwell had only followed the wishes of the king; and this fact afforded a plea in his favour, of which his enemies were too well aware to allow him a fair trial, since Cromwell could undoubtedly

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 505.

have produced his authorities for those acts which were now construed into a determination to support heresy. The treasonable words were unsupported, since the evidence upon which they were admitted was not rebutted by any witness on the contrary side; and the drawing of the dagger was added to them, in order to affix to his expressions an overt act, necessary, in the opinion of some lawyers, to constitute treason. It is not only improbable that a man of Cromwell's discretion should have betrayed his sentiments in so unguarded a manner, knowing himself to be surrounded by enemies, but it is also incredible, that these words should not have been repeated, during the space of fifteen months which had intervened between the speech and the trial. The principal witnesses who deposed against the vicegerent, were one Throckmorton, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, both of them his acknowledged foes; for in a letter addressed to the king by Cromwell, soon after his imprisonment, Henry is reminded how inveterate both these persons had ever been against the unfortunate minister. Cromwell, in this letter, denies a charge, which he had heard privately, of having revealed to the queen the intention which the king had of procuring a divorce; acknowledging only, that he had advised the unsightly Anne

of Cleves to render her manners more agreeable to the king than they had been at first; but denying that he had given this council on the score of a divorce. It is to be regretted that the whole strain of this address, which vehemently denies the imputation of treason, is of the most abject character. As it was written at the desire of Henry, in order to give an account of all that Cromwell knew respecting the marriage with Anne of Cleves, it is couched in the terms most favourable to the wishes of the king on that subject. Cromwell concludes thus; "beseeching your grace to pardon this "my rude writing, and to consider that I, a "most woful prisoner, am ready to take the death "when it shall please God and your majesty; "and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually "to call to your grace for mercy, and grace of "mine offences; and thus Christ save, preserve, "and keep you. Written at the Tower, this "Wednesday, the last of June, with the heavy "heart, and trembling hand, of your highness's "most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and "poor slave, THOMAS CROMWELL."

"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, "mercy."

All this submission was unavailing; and Cromwell was only allowed to remain in life until after the divorce from Anne of Cleves had been ac-

complished. When the obnoxious minister was removed from court, the king considered the chief obstacle to his separation from Anne to be also surmounted, and he began instantly to concert measures for his complete emancipation.

On the twenty-fourth of June, Anne was sent to the king's palace at Richmond, under the pretext of requiring the benefit of country air; and this preparatory step was followed by an address from parliament, petitioning the king to allow the validity of his marriage to be tried. The king gave his assent to this form, making at the same time a solemn protestation that he should conceal nothing that related to it, a declaration with which he appears literally to have complied; at the same time he affirmed "that there was nothing which he held dearer than the glory of God, the manifestation of truth, and the good of his kingdom." The subject was then referred to convocation, and, according to the fashion pursued in all the public measures of the day, the decision was given in favour of the king. Gardiner opened the case, assisted by a committee consisting of the Bishops of Durham and Winchester, with two others of the clergy, to examine the witnesses that day. On the next day, were received the depositions of the king, those of some of his council, and of several ladies who had conversed with the queen,

together with Cromwell's letter, which tended to prove, that the king had never paid to the queen those attentions which are usual in married life; that he had imbibed a disgust for her person, and a contempt for her understanding, from which it was inferred that the marriage was not lawful, since "the inward consent" of one of the principal parties had not been given. This was the chief pretext upon which the marriage was dissolved; a most dangerous precedent, as Burnet remarks, for invalidating all public treaties and agreements, and one which no monarch except Henry would have proposed, and to which no counsellors, except the servile ministry by whom he was seconded, would have consented.

In order to satisfy the foreign connections of the qu en, the contract between her and the Marquis of Lorrain was assigned to them as the chief reason for the dissolution of the marriage. The papistical party prevailing in the convocation, no time was lost in declaring the marriage null and void; and Cranmer, although shocked at the injustice and impolicy of these proceedings, yet, had not courage to offer any opposition to the decision, justly apprehending that his own condition was insecure, since he had lost in Cromwell a steady and powerful coadjutor.*

* *Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 510.

Cranmer, nevertheless, must have perceived in how disadvantageous a light the conduct of the king, in this affair, would naturally appear in the eyes of his subjects, and of foreign powers. By the depositions of the witnesses examined before convocation, the king was placed in a point of view absolutely ridiculous and contemptible.* To say nothing of the gross character of his mind which displayed itself eminently upon this occasion, the familiarity which the king appears from his disclosures to have maintained with his servants, his indelicate and ungentlemanly conduct in allowing a foreign lady of distinction to be the subject of diversion to a circle of ladies in waiting, among whom was the infamous Lady Rochford; and, above all, his want of honour in thus insulting one who had entered this country upon the faith of a solemn alliance, as his affianced bride, are circumstances which place the character of Henry, independant of his other transactions, in a very low scale as to delicacy, generosity, and honour.

The term fortunate is peculiarly applicable to Henry the Eighth; but, in this affair, had the Princess of Cleves been of a character to resent, or even to feel the injuries which were inflicted on her character and her condition, Henry might have been entangled in some difficulties with her

* See *Strype*, vol. i. part ii. *Records*.

brother. Anne, however, was not of a temper to resent the indignities offered to her, or to be greatly distressed at the king's rejection of her as a wife. After the sentence of the convocation had been reported to the two houses of parliament, the Chancellor Audley, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Southampton and the Bishop of Winchester, were deputed to inform the queen of her fate. Anne received the intelligence of the divorce with apparent surprise, for she fainted on hearing it; but, recovering her composure, she seemed even somewhat pleased when she was told that the king would assign to her, by letters patent, the title of "his adopted sister;" that she should take precedence after his future queen and his daughters, and should have an estate of three thousand a year allotted to her, with the privilege either of returning home or of remaining in England.* To these terms Anne readily acceded, and subscribed to a document, declaring her consent and approbation: with regard to her residence, not choosing the disgrace of being returned to her native country, she preferred remaining in England. The commissioners then requested the princess to write to her brother, to inform him that she approved of all that had been done respecting her condition, and to assure him that the king had used her as a

* *Herbert*, p. 521.

father or a brother. At first the poor, weak queen had the spirit to refuse compliance with this command, saying that it would be time enough to write to the duke when she had received a letter from him, but, on being urged, she consented, and wrote such an epistle as would prevent the duke from resenting any part of the conduct of Henry towards her, declaring that "that most noble and virtuous prince had used her as honourably, and shewn her as much humanity as her brother, herself, or any of her friends could desire; and that she accounted God pleased with what had been done."* The house and lands belonging to the king at Richmond were allotted for the use of the Princess, and she passed the rest of this reign in that charming retreat, but removed afterwards to Dartford Priory, in Kent, a royal residence in the days of Henry the Eighth, founded out of a dissolved monastery, and given afterwards by Edward the Sixth to the Princess of Cleves. The bill annulling the marriage was immediately passed into a law, and it was declared treason to deny the legality of the act.

Meanwhile, parliament was employed in passing an act which should pave the way for the marriage of the king with Katharine Howard. That lady, being cousin german to Anne Bullen,

* *Burnet's Collections.*

was within the degrees of affinity to the king forbidden by the canon law, and it was therefore found necessary to frame a bill in which it was specified, that "no pretence of precontract, or degrees of affinity, except those mentioned in the laws of God, should be made use of to annul a marriage, since these things had often been pretended only to dissolve a marriage when the parties were weary of it themselves." This act involved the proceedings relative to the marriages of the king in the greatest absurdity, since it condemned the measures relative both to Queen Katharine of Arragon and to Anne Bullen. But all reasoning and consistency in public concerns were now laid aside, and nothing was enacted but what agreed with the convenience or the pleasure of the king.

On the twenty-eighth of July, sentence was executed upon the unhappy Cromwell, 1540. who had been imprisoned during the preceding six weeks. This period he had occupied in fruitless, but unremitting endeavours to move the compassion of Henry, to whom he had addressed another letter so full of pathos, that the king had desired it to be thrice read, and had wept at the perusal.* The prospect of an ignominious death, and, above all, the fear of being

* See *Wordsworth Eccl. Biog.* vol. ii. p. 356. from *Fox.*

burned at the stake, seem to have overcome the fortitude of the fallen minister, and his petitions for mercy were constantly couched in terms of the most abject submission, which excite commiseration, if they do not escape censure. When convinced that his doom was inevitable, and that he was to fall by the axe, and not at the stake, the courage of Cromwell revived; and meeting, in his way to the scaffold, Walter, Lord Hungerford, who was going to execution, a just retribution upon that nobleman for a heinous offence, the christian feelings of Cromwell were excited, and he offered such consolation to the unhappy sinner as their brief interview permitted. The comfort which Cromwell endeavoured to impart, was given in the homely, yet forcible language in which the most momentous topics were discussed at that period; "if you repent and be heartily sorry for what you have done," said he to the unhappy man, "there is mercy for you of the Lord, who for Christ's sake will forgive you; and though the breakfast we are going to be sharp, yet, trusting in the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful dinner."* When he arrived at the scaffold on Tower-Hill, Cromwell declared that he "was come there to die, and not to clear "himself, as many supposed that he would do; "for if it were so, he should be a very wretch and

* *Fox's Acts*, p. 1095.

"miser, since he was condemned for his offend-
"ing against a prince who had done such great
"things for him." To these words, which were probably dictated by fear for the safety and welfare of his son, Cromwell added this memorable declaration: "And now I pray all that be here "with me, to bear record that I die in the "Catholic faith, not doubting in any article of "my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of "my church. Many have slandered me, and "reported that I have been a bearer of such "as have maintained evil opinions, which is "untrue."

This dying affirmation on the part of Cromwell, has been variously interpreted by historians. Some have considered that he meant to use the word Catholic only in the proper acceptation of the term, "TRUE:" others, that he expressed by it the faith of the church in England, as then established by Henry the Eighth, which consisted rather of Papistical than of Lutheran opinions. Cromwell's letter to Henry, from the Tower, declares expressly that he was neither "heretic nor sacramentary*:" yet the tenour of his actions had been such as to promote the Lutheran doctrines, and no man had acted so boldly in their promulgation as Cromwell in the office of vice-

* *Cromwell's Letter to Henry* in *Burnet's Collection of Records.*

gerent. In those days, a definition of the faith prevailing in this country, by any particular term, could have been no easy task, since the constitution of the church had teemed with contradictions, especially after the publication of the six articles. Whatever may have been his persuasion, the cowardly conduct of Cromwell throughout the whole business of his condemnation, was unworthy of the great cause to which he had adhered in his prosperity; a cause, which was eventually promoted more by the sincerity, firmness, and unanimity of its professors, than by all which the hand of power could effect in its behalf. By the popish historian Sanders, Cromwell, in not having been allowed to make his defence, is said to have suffered by a law which he had participated in framing, but, for the credit of England, no such law was ever made even by the tyrant Henry; although it had been the custom during the later part of his reign, in trials for treason, to send the prisoners unheard to their doom, a mode of proceeding only permitted to the supreme authority of parliament.*

The death of Cromwell removed the suspension of the Bloody Act, which was now enforced in all its rigours. Several priests were attainted in parliament for denying the supremacy of the

* *Burnet*, vol. i. pt. 2. p. 446.

king, and others for adhering to papacy, and for conspiring with Cardinal Pole. Barnes, who has been already mentioned, Jerome, and Gerrard, all priests, suffered for imputed heresies, which they had formerly retracted, but which, in the anguish of repentance, they had again publicly professed.

Whatever may be thought of the means by which Cromwell rose to power, or of the weakness which his conduct in adversity displayed, there can be no difference of opinion among protestants respecting the moderation with which he carried his honours, and of the efficacy with which he exercised his authority, notwithstanding the articles which were urged against him. Entering into public life with habits of subserviency to his superiors, and retaining a constant recollection of his lowly origin, the servile disposition of Cromwell may be in part attributed to those notions of obsequious deference to the great and powerful, which, in an age when villenage was scarcely abolished, were doubtless implanted in the minds of the lower ranks. Desirous, probably, of avoiding those quicksands on which the fortunes of Wolsey had been wrecked, Cromwell usually displayed, on all state occasions, a modesty and temperance of conduct, which might have disarmed the fury of his enemies, had any pas-

sion less virulent than superstitious zeal influenced their actions. Unspoiled by fortune, this minister had elevation of mind sufficient to raise him above the paltry pride which induces weak men to disregard the companions of their less prosperous days. During the visitation of the monastery at Sheen, in order to enforce the oath of supremacy, which had been rejected by some of the monks of that house, Cromwell, in company with the lords of the council and the commissioners, disdained not to notice, in presence of his high associates, a poor man who assisted in sweeping out the cloisters and in ringing the chapel bells. "My lords," said the vicegerent addressing his companions, "this poor man's father was a friend to me and has given me many a meal's meat;" then turning to the man he promised to provide for him as long as he lived.

The well known story of the Florentine merchant also redounds greatly to the credit of Cromwell. One of the members of the ancient family of Frescobaldi, had once an opportunity of relieving Cromwell, who presented himself before him, as an object of distress, declaring his situation to have been recently that of page to a soldier in the French infantry. At this time Cromwell was in rags, and starving. The Florentine clothed him, provided him with

money, and sent him home to his own country. It happened that Frescobald, in process of time, was reduced to poverty, and obliged to come over to England to recover money of which he had been deprived. As he was riding in the precincts of the court, he met Cromwell, who recognized him, took him home, repaid the money which Frescobald had lent him with tenfold interest, discharged the debts of his benefactor, and completely restored him to his former situation.*

The bounty which Cromwell distributed is said to have been considerable, and it was perhaps indiscriminate; but the preferments which he assigned to his favourites were bestowed with judgment, and only allotted to men of industry and talent. Few persons, indeed, have in this country extended their munificence farther than Cromwell had done. Stowe the chronicler has declared, that he has frequently seen more than two hundred persons relieved at Cromwell's gates in one day; and no man, according to Strype, had assembled, in this reign, so many eminent men as Cromwell collected around him as secretaries and clerks.

Yet, although a favourer of learning, Cromwell was said to have been illiterate, his only classical knowledge, as Burnet observes, having

* *Life of Cromwell, in Wordsworth's Eccl. Biog.* vol. ii.

consisted in the knowledge of the Bible in Latin, which he had committed to memory at an early age. A mere man of business, the conversation of Cromwell appears to have had few charms in the opinion of Henry, who, delighting in literary acquirements, never extended to Cromwell that partial regard which he had evinced to Wolsey and to More. It is to be regretted, that the mind of Cromwell was not more cultivated; for had his views been more enlarged, his means of acquiring influence over the king would have been increased, and the utility derived to the country from the final destruction of the monasteries would probably have been extended. When we reflect upon the opportunities which the suppression of these houses afforded for the erection of institutions of the most important and salutary description, when we consider how much might have been done with them, and how little was proportionably effected, we are apt to regret that Cromwell was not Wolsey, or that the vicegerent had not imbibed some of that greatness of soul which actuated the designs of his early patron.

July 30, 1540. Two days after the execution of Cromwell, the unhappy men who were committed at the same time with him were dragged on hurdles to Smithfield. The papists were hanged, drawn and quartered; and

the three heretics, Barnes, Gerrard, and Jerome, were burned at the stake. This strange scene was commented upon by one of the spectators, as a singular mode of managing matters in England, "where," said he, in writing to a friend, "those who declare for the pope are hanged, and those who are against him, are burned."* Barnes met his fate with philosophic calmness; on the scaffold he addressed the by-standers concerning those points of faith on which he had been deemed heretical, and argued upon good works and the invocation of saints with as much serenity as if he had been in a chapter-house, among a company of divines. "Whether the saints," he said, "prayed for us or not, he knew not, but he hoped," addressing the sheriff, "to be praying for him and for the church militant in half an hour." The other two sufferers followed in the same strain; and, after a tender and affecting farewell of each other, they were severally fastened to the stake, and consumed.

Commissioners were now appointed in every shire to search out those who refused to subscribe to the six articles; and so keen was the spirit of persecution, that even a boy fifteen years old, was apprehended by Bonner for deny-

* *Burnet's Refutation of Sanders, Hist. Ref.* Appendix to vol. i. pt. ii. p. 443.

ing the sacrament of the altar. The child was induced to recant, and to lay his offence upon the instigations of Barnes; but was afterwards cruelly burned at Smithfield. Doctor Wilson, and Sampson, Bishop of Chichester, who had been sent to the Tower by Cromwell on suspicion of papacy, were set at liberty. The office of vicegerent as it had begun with Cromwell, died with him, and no successor was ever appointed.

The temper of the king ought to have been disposed to mercy during these cruel proceedings, for he was now once more happy, as he conceived, in the affection and society of a young and beautiful wife. On the
1540. eighth of August he had espoused Katharine Howard, whose honourable lineage no person could dispute, and who, on that score, was esteemed to be a proper choice for a royal consort. This marriage was, however, an open violation of the canon law, which forbade the union of persons so nearly allied as Henry and Katharine already were, through the relationship between Anne Bullen and Katharine Howard. Fuller has remarked, that the only good produced by this tie, was the precedent which it gave for cousins-german to intermarry, a licence before unheard of in this country, except when a dispensation was obtained from the Pope. The connec-

tion seemed, indeed, in other respects, not only unproductive of good, but the cause of many evils during the short time that the ill-assorted union continued.

Katharine was the very contrast of her predecessor; her features and figure were small, and her pretensions to comeliness were undisputed. Selected by the king for the dangerous distinction of being his consort, on account of a "notable appearance of honour, cleanliness, and maidenly behaviour,"* Katharine proved the reverse of all that the king expected; yet she managed for some time to assume the appearance of those qualities for which the king gave her credit; and, possessing some portion of address, continued for months to deceive the jealous being who had so vigilantly watched the gay and careless, but innocent Anne Bullen. By means of this connection, the Duke of Norfolk, who had been rather a time-serving than an aspiring man, began to acquire an ascendancy in the council which he had never been able to attain during the life of Cromwell. But the interests of the papistical party, though countenanced by Norfolk, were in fact upheld by Gardiner, whose activity in contriving schemes for its support, had they been better employed, would have deserved as, for a time, they ensured success.

* *Herbert.*

Gardiner was assisted in his designs by the powerful agency of Bonner, a man whose character was exactly adapted to prosecute those machinations which Gardiner had begun.

Like many of the churchmen of the day, and, in this respect, resembling his friend Gardiner, Bonner was of illegitimate birth, his real name, with an unlucky aptitude, being Savage. The father of this divine was a priest, the son of Sir John Savage, who had been a member of the privy council in the reign of Henry the Seventh. From his parents Bonner had little chance of deriving hereditary virtues, or of reaping the benefit of a good example. His father was unhappily a specimen of that class of churchmen too numerous before the reformation, the evils of whose profligacy extended their noxious influence around the district in which they resided. The mother of Bonner left her native country of Cheshire to conceal her disgrace, and married one Edmund Bonner, a carpenter of Elmley, in Worcestershire, where Bonner, the future scourge of the Protestants, was born.* The infant, who bore the name of his reputed parent, was probably maintained by his real father, for
1512. in process of time he was removed to Broadgate's Hall, Oxford, now Pembroke College, a noted school at that time for

* *Wood*, vol. i. p. 158.

civilians and canonists. Having taken the usual degrees at the university, and entered into holy orders, Bonner was fortunate enough to obtain several livings, and eventually to become one of the royal chaplains. At this period of his public career, Bonner was a favourer of the Lutherans, an advocate for the divorce between Henry and Katharine, and an enemy to all the papal usurpations in England. His zeal, in the general cause of reformation, was too outrageous to be perfectly sincere; and indicated the desire to advance some personal interest, rather than the steady yet ardent sentiment which genuine, religious fervour really inspires. During the life of Cromwell, Bonner had been contented to play a subordinate part, and had conducted himself with ability, but not always with discretion, in various embassies. By the favour of the vicegerent, Bonner was made Bishop of Hereford, and afterwards of
1539. London; and now, his evil genius assailed him; for Bonner, as various historians have remarked, could not withstand prosperity. His ingratitude to Cromwell was among the first of his public offences. The day after the apprehension of that minister, Bonner, walking in the street, met Grafton the printer, whom Cromwell had greatly favoured: Grafton, not having the same disposition as Bonner, lamented the adver-

sity of his patron, but was answered by the bishop "that it would have been well if Cromwell had been dispatched long ago."

Upon the death of Cromwell the character of Bonner shone out in its true colours, and he became the zealous adherent of popery, and the tool of Gardiner. These two men seemed born to co-operate. Gardiner was cautious, insidious, plausible; so gentle was he in his mode of annihilating the life and fortunes of an enemy, that it was scarcely possible to resent those injuries which were inflicted with an appearance of good-will, and with the politeness of a courtier.* Bonner, whom Gardiner often called an "Ass" for his temerity in blazing his malignant intentions before he had ensured their success, was smart and amusing in his conversation, of undaunted effrontery, of shameless and remorseless cruelty, in the exercise of which he appeared actually to experience delight, seeming to reap as much satisfaction in whipping an heretic, as a sportsman enjoys in hunting a hare.† It was for Gardiner to contrive, arrange, and methodize a plan for the general destruction of those whose tenets he believed to be heretical

* See *Fuller's Account of Gardiner*, in which he compares the malice of that prelate to a musket loaded with white powder, which is said to make no noise in the discharge. *Worthies of Suff.* vol. ii. p. 33.

† See *Fox's Martyrology.*

and dangerous; but the office of following up the design in detail, of inflicting the personal miseries, and of witnessing the corporeal agonies of the wretches whom he deemed the enemies of the church, was suitable and was appropriated to the sanguinary activity of Bonner.

In the open and daring character of his wickedness, Bonner differed widely from his coadjutor. It is no praise to say of a man, that he is not an hypocrite, when he ceases to blush for that which is an acknowledged sin; if Bonner chanced to be reminded of his flagellations and burnings of the Protestants, he laughed, and turned the censure into a joke; and, when some person, with a design to vex him, shewed him his own picture, scourging a sacramentary, in Fox's Martyrology, the risibility of the jovial bishop was greatly excited, and he exclaimed, "a vengeance on the fool, how could he get my picture drawn so right?" He seemed, indeed, to consider himself as the schoolmaster of all the recusants, and to regard the scourge, the gibbet, and the stake, as the legitimate instruments of that tender chastisement which a demagogue is required to exercise over refractory pupils. It is, however, agreeable to find, that even in characters of the most aggravated wickedness, some emotions of kindly feeling are occasionally found to humanize those specimens

of depravity, which would otherwise scarcely appear to belong to the same race which numbers More and Cranmer among its ornaments. For his disgraced, and lowly mother, Bonner appears to have felt a tenderness foreign, in other respects, to his nature. When he became Bishop of London, in 1549, she came either to visit or to reside with him at his episcopal palace at Fulham, and there she died; Bonner, though then a prisoner, providing a handsome funeral to her honour. He also educated two of his nephews at Broadsgate Hall, and provided for one of these persons in the church; but the quality which most excited the surprize of his contemporaries, was the meekness with which Bonner supported the adversity which afterwards befel him in the reign of Edward the Sixth, to the joy of the Protestants.* Unhappily for that body in the days of Henry, prosperity, the bane of Bonner, facilitated those persecutions in which he revelled during the later part of this reign.

The ascendancy which Cranmer had hitherto possessed, now appeared to undergo a
1540. suspension. He had been already denominated in the House of Commons, by Sir John Gostwich, "as the promoter and supporter of all the heresy of England;" and,

* *Wood.*

when the primate could be so designated with impunity in a solemn assembly, it was not to be expected that he would long continue to hold the high situation which he occupied. The measures which were sanctioned by the king, proved, indeed, that his influence was annihilated. The six articles which Cranmer had strenuously opposed, were now enforced with unremitting vigilance. Even the most respectable prelates were subject to inquisition, upon this new creed. West, Bishop of Ely, a man noted for his liberality to the poor, and for his benefactions to King's College Chapel, in Cambridge*, upon a suspicion that some of his servants had promulgated a work recently published by Melancthon against the six articles, was subjected to a rigid search by the commissioners, who scrutinized all the papers in the library of the bishop.

Bonner, at this time, shewed his merciless, intolerant spirit in all its fullness of malevolence. The Bible, first printed in 1537, was reprinted in a larger volume, from the
1540. translation of Tindall, and Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. The name of Tindall, being offensive to all orthodox ears, was, however suppressed, and his notes omitted; and the whole was revised by Coverdale with a

* *Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 280.

preface by Cranmer, to whom, on that account, the whole translation was ascribed.* Grafton, who had expended £500 upon the first edition of the Bible, petitioned Cranmer to allow him to be the sole person employed during three years in the printing and publication of this second Bible, a request which was granted; and for the embellishment of the volume a frontispiece was devised by the celebrated Hans Holbein, now in England.† This valuable gift to the people was extremely obnoxious to Gardiner and Bonner, who well knew how detrimental the dissemination of such a work must be to the furtherance of their principles of faith. But, while Cranmer retained any portion of influence, and while Henry continued to waver between contending opinions, it was thought advisable to delay the removal of the Scriptures from the churches, a point which the popish faction reserved as a future feat to be accomplished. It was, however, the consolation of Bonner to render the enjoyment of their privileges as difficult to the people, as they were displeasing to him. He placed, indeed, in his cathedral church of Saint Paul, six Bibles; but he annexed to them an admonition, warning the congregation that if they fell into disputes with each

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 184.

† *Lewis*, p. 109.

other concerning the texts, the occasion of such contests should be removed, and the Bibles withdrawn from the church.

The beginning of the year 1541 was marked by disturbance and bloodshed: fresh insurrections having sprung up in Yorkshire, headed by five priests, by a gentleman named Leigh, and by Sir John Neville. This commotion was attributed by Henry to the instigation of his supposed enemy, Cardinal Pole; and, under this suspicion, the deluded offenders were treated with rigour. Leigh, with two companions in guilt, were drawn through London to Tyburn, and there hanged; and a similar fate befel Sir John Neville at York.

An aged and still more pitiable victim was sacrificed to the jealousy and fury of the king.

May 17. On the day that Leigh and Neville suffered, fell the last of the Plantaganets, Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, the mother of Cardinal Pole, an ancient and unoffending lady, who seems to have possessed a spirit worthy of her high name and race. She had been condemned two years previous to her execution, when her son, the Marquis of Exeter, suffered with Lord Montague, but the king, unwilling perhaps to wreak his vengeance upon the nearest of his blood relations, had delayed the infliction of the sentence. The countess, seventy years of age,

was now brought forth to execution; but, borne down by the weight of years and of affliction, she still maintained a determination to meet her fate with dignity, although not to submit to it as an act of justice. When the executioner desired her to lay her head on the block, she refused, saying "that her head had never committed treason, and that if he would have it, he must fetch it as he could;" and thus saying, she ran about the scaffold in defiance of him, shaking her grey locks at him, and compelled by force alone to lay her head upon the block. Even when the blow was about to be inflicted, she exclaimed, "blessed are they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake." Such was the undaunted spirit of Margaret Plantaganet. Her death, had the reign of Henry been in other respects unsullied by cruelty, was sufficient to mark him as a tyrant and a barbarian. The sacrifice of this victim to the jealousy of the king, was followed by the execution of Lord Leonard Grey, upon a charge of treasonable practices in Ireland, which he confessed, and he ended his life with penitence. The commiseration of the public was also excited, at this period, by the execution of Lord Dacres, whose offence did not, in the public mind, justify the severity of his sentence. This young nobleman, only twenty-four years of age, when hunting with a

party, began a fray in which one John Busbug was killed, either by Dacres or some of his companions; and for this offence he and three of his associates were hanged at Tyburn, June 29th, 1541.

Aware of the general discontent among all parties at the measures of government, Henry, during the summer, deemed it expedient to make his progress into Yorkshire, for the purpose not only of receiving the submissions, and of improving the loyalty of his people, but of persuading his nephew, James the Fifth of Scotland, whom he hoped to meet at York, into a co-operation with him in that strange species of reformation which Henry professed to patronize. He passed, therefore, into the north, receiving presents and homage from most of the principal towns in Yorkshire and in Lincolnshire, and inspecting the fortifications of Hull; but this journey, although it allayed the irritations of the people, ended in disappointment and in real anguish of heart to the king.

James the Fifth, persuaded by his clergy and by the king of France, complied not with his promise to meet the king at York, but sent an excuse which formed the grounds of subsequent hostility. But a more bitter trial awaited the king; the fair but dissolute Katharine Howard had accompanied him in his progress, and had

so wound herself around his affections, that, on receiving the sacrament on All Saint's day, Henry gave public thanks to God "for the good life that he led with her, and trusted still to lead," and desired his ghostly father to join in the same thanksgiving. This happy delusion, fallacious both with regard to his own state of righteousness and the cause, was dissipated in the mind of the king on the following day, when the Archbishop of Canterbury came to disclose particulars which had been revealed to him by a servant during the royal progress, and which plainly manifested that the queen was undeserving of confidence.

The disclosure of the guilt of Katharine, which was considered by the Catholics as a plot of the reformers against her, was effected by means of one John Lassels, a servant, whose sister had lived in the service of the old Dutchess of Norfolk, under whose roof Katharine had been educated. Lassels revealed to Cranmer the loose and profligate conduct of Katharine, before her marriage, with Dereham, a gentleman in the household of the dutchess, and with Mannock, also a servant, whom he stated to have been her paramours. The archbishop communicated this discovery to the Lord Chancellor and to the Earl of Hertford; and, by their advice, he delivered an account of it in writing to the king.

He, who had loved Katharine, according to his own account, for her modest demeanour, and who had so recently thanked God for the felicity her conjugal virtues had bestowed upon him, was thunderstruck at the intelligence, but quickly rejected it as a forgery; fortunately for Cranmer, whose life must have been in the utmost danger had not there been sufficient proof of the queen's delinquency, there was, however, little difficulty in substantiating the charge.

Lassels, on being examined by the Lord Privy Seal, repeated his first testimony, in which his sister confirmed his deposition. This evidence received confirmation from the confessions of Dereham and Mannock, who were apprehended on some other pretences; and circumstances were disclosed which evinced that the queen added the utmost grossness and shamelessness to her profligate courses. Henry, who began now to desire the comforts of domestic life in his old age, burst into tears when, unwillingly, convinced of the criminality of Katharine. The queen, on being charged with the crime, after some hesitation confessed it, but as no intercourse was proved between her and her accomplices, except interchange of presents, since her marriage, it appeared probable that the king, although convinced of her guilt, would have little grounds for a divorce. But, upon

a second examination by Cranmer, who wished to substantiate a plea of pre-contract between Dereham and the queen, which might render her marriage with Henry illegal, proof was adduced of her continued incontinence since marriage. Sufficient evidence was also produced, that Katharine, even during the late progress, had carried on a criminal intrigue with one Culpeper, probably a relation of her own, at Lincoln, with the connivance of the abandoned Lady Rochford. Culpeper confessed the crime; and acknowledged, that he had received from the queen presents of a golden chain and a cap. Katharine was removed to Sion House, and there served as queen, although kept a close prisoner. Dereham and Culpeper were hanged at Tyburn on the tenth of December; and on the twenty-second of the same month, Lord William Howard, uncle to Katharine, with his wife, and several of her men and women servants, lately in the service of the old Dutchess of Norfolk, were executed for misprision of treason, in being privy to the misconduct of the queen.

On the twenty-first of January, a new parliament was summoned, to determine on the fate of Katharine; and a bill was introduced attainting her and the Viscountess Rochford of treason, and the Dowager Dutchess of

Norfolk and the Countess of Bridgewater of misprision of treason. Before the bill passed, the Lord Chancellor addressed the house, desiring them to consider the state of affliction in which the king was plunged by the criminality of the queen; and proposing that a body might be sent to interrogate the culprit, in order to satisfy the minds of those who doubted her guilt. A deputation consisting of Cranmer, the Bishop of Westminster, the Earl of Southampton, and the Duke of Suffolk, waited upon her accordingly, but no satisfaction being gained, the act was passed and assented to by the letters patent of the king. This form of legalizing the act was recommended by parliament, probably with a view of sparing the king the painful task of assenting to it in person.

The queen and Lady Rochford were executed on Tower Hill, on the 12th of February. Katharine confessed and lamented her guilt, and owned that she had sinned against God, the king, and the nation: she denied, however, that part of her accusation which touched upon her incontinence after marriage, calling God and his holy angels to witness that she had never been unfaithful to her royal husband. She hoped that her guilt would not affect the prosperity of her brothers, and entreated, as a last request, permission to divide her clothes among

her servants. Such was the termination of the brief career of Queen Katharine Howard: her vices, it is to be feared, present a sample of those, in which many females of the most exalted rank, at this period indulged. The Lady Rochford received no pity from the multitude: she had been lady of the bed-chamber to the four last queens; and her infamous aspersions upon Anne Bullen were not forgotten by the people, whose conceptions are generally just in the main points, although sometimes exaggerated.

The Dutchess of Norfolk was pardoned; for, although one clause in the act of attainder against Katharine specified, that all such as were privy to incontinence in any woman whom a King of England might intend to marry, were guilty of misprision of treason, yet, it was deemed an excusable error in her to conceal the shame of a grand-child, who had been brought up under her own roof. Katharine Howard and Lady Rochford suffered without a trial, or the possibility of making a defence, but this irregular and arbitrary proceeding was now so familiar to the people as scarcely to excite surprise. The death of this queen, injurious as it eventually proved to the interests of the party by whom she was first introduced to the king, produced no

immediate change in the counsels which were now adopted.*

The reprinting of the Bible in folio has been already mentioned as a benefit which Cranmer had procured for the English nation; but the privilege of reading the scriptures, although highly acceptable to the people, was not allowed in such a manner as greatly to extend its influence. By the parliament which met this year on the 22d of January, it was ordered, that the apostolic and catholic church should be the only source of reference in religious differences. The translation of the scripture by Tindall; any theological treatise that contained doctrines contrary to those which the king had set forth, since the year 1540, and all prefaces, or annotations in English annexed to the Holy Scriptures, were therefore forbidden. The Bible was not allowed to be read in English in any church, and women, apprentices, artificers, journeymen, serving-men, husbandmen, and labourers, were prohibited from perusing the sacred volume in the English tongue. As five hundred copies only had been printed, there seemed little reason for proscribing the use of a

1542.

* It was during this year, 1541, that Henry first assumed the title of King of Ireland, that of "Lord" having alone been enjoyed by his progenitors. This dignity was conferred upon him by parliament, which, at the same time, made it treason to refuse that style to the English monarchs.

work, the circulation of which must have been at first extremely limited; but, as if these retrogressive movements from light to darkness were not sufficient, it was recommended by Gardiner, in convocation, that various expressions in the original version, which might be deemed offensive to the ears of sundry persons, and incomprehensible to those of others, should be retained in Latin.* This suggestion, the design of which was to perplex the people, so that the discrepancy between the scriptures and the doctrines of the Romanists might not be perceived, was not carried into effect.† Another alteration proposed by Gardiner, related to the second commandment, at the end of which that bishop recommended the insertion after the words "graven image," the adjunct "with a design to perform worship to it." This sinister proposition on the part of Gardiner, to the credit of the clergy, was rejected. A revisal of both the Testaments was, however, proposed by the Bishop of Winchester, and was assented to; but the project suggested by Cranmer, with the sanction of Henry, to submit the whole work to the criticism of the universities, fell to the

* Such words as *Ecclesia, Penitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, Contritus, Olocausta, Justitia, Justificata,* and many others. *Collier,* vol. ii. p. 185.

† *Burnet,* vol. i. p. 571.

ground; the party then prevalent among the prelates declaring, that the universities were governed by young men, and that all learning lay in the convocation.*

In the office of reviewing the gospels, most of the bishops had their respective portions assigned to them for correction: to Cranmer was allotted the Gospel of St. Matthew; to Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, that of St. Mark; to Gardiner, St. Luke; and to Goodrich, Bishop of Ely, the Gospel of St. John. No precise period was fixed for the termination of their labours, and much valuable time was lost in idle disputations upon points of little moment, so that the work proceeded very slowly.† In the course of this and the following year, various important alterations were made in the mode of performing divine service: candles, silk habits, and ornaments, were taken from the churches and images, and missals and other books of devotion were

* *Lewis Hist. Trans. Bible,* p. 148.

† In 1568, Archbishop Parker, that honour to the Protestant church, adopted the same plan as Cranmer had pursued, and, dividing the Bible among the bishops, succeeded better, the task being readily completed by the prelates. This Bible, commonly called the Bishop's Bible, had a picture of Queen Elizabeth as a frontispiece, and contained the proper lessons for the day, the Psalms, a calendar of days to be kept as holydays, an almanack for thirty years, directions to find Easter for ever, morning and evening prayer, and St Athanasius' Creed. *Lewis,* pp. 240, 241.

rendered conformable to the opinions of the king; for, difficult as it was to know in what the religious tenets of Henry consisted, they were enjoined as the sole standard of faith and practice. From the mass-book, nothing material was expunged, except the name of the Pope, and of Becket: apocryphas, legends, the memorials of saints not mentioned in scripture, and objectionable collects, versicles and responses, were likewise discarded from the church-books and calendars, and the composition of the service was directed to consist of compilations from holy writ, or from the works of orthodox writers. The examination of these service books was submitted to the Bishops of Ely and of Salisbury, who were directed to join three members of the lower house of convocation in the office*; but the lower house declined interfering on the subject, and the task, therefore, devolved wholly upon the bishops.

About the same period, every curate was first necessitated to read, without explanations, a chapter in the Old, and afterwards in the New Testament, after the Te Deum and Magnificat; and the commandments were to be read twice in every quarter, in all the parish churches.

* In the British Museum is a missal, which belonged to Henry the Eighth after his breach with the see of Rome. In the calender he has blotted out all the saints that have been Popes.

The priests were desired also to preach a discourse on every Sabbath day; a custom, which although enjoined in the Catholic church, had been hitherto much neglected by its ministers, who, with some exceptions, deemed it sufficient to thunder out during Lent those threats of future condemnation, or promises of salvation, of which their sermons were chiefly composed.* It was also desired that the discourses should not consist of passionate declamations, of invectives against those who maintained a contrary doctrine, of legends, or of histories of suspected credit; but, that they should teach the principles of virtue and of morality, the meaning and importance of the sacraments, and the prayers of the church.

The necessity of such a reformation in pulpit eloquence as these injunctions implied, has been denied by some writers, who contend that the Catholic clergy, erroneous in many points, had not neglected this part of their duty. But the character of those discourses which had hitherto been preached, had consisted chiefly of panegyricks on saints and relics, and the necessity for these regulations was obvious; the ignorance of the people, many of whom scarcely knew to what object to address their devotions, or higher than a tutelar saint or patron, prove the neglect which had previously prevailed regarding so

* *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 185.

important a part of clerical duty.* At this time originated the custom of writing sermons, which has since generally prevailed among the clergy of the English church, who dreaded at this time lest in extempore preaching they might be betrayed into the violence and invectives of the licensed preachers who were sent up and down the country by the commands of the king, and who were complained of on that account, even to the king. A book of Homilies was also printed, consisting of a plain and practical paraphrase on the epistles and gospels of every Sunday or holyday in the year; and to these were added sermons on weddings, christenings, or funerals, which might be read to the people by persons not licensed.†

A popular custom, at once immoral and profane, was also abolished by the injunctions of Bonner. It had been an ancient privilege to represent plays and interludes in churches, and the populace, taking advantage of the impunity

* Collier mentions one Dr. Litchfield, Rector of St. James, Thames, West London, who left 3085 sermons written in his own hand, all of which, as he insists, could not have been preached in Lent. This was a singular instance: the clergy were only obliged to preach once a quarter, and, loose as they were in other duties, it is not probable that they were zealous alone in this respect.

† The Homilies were drawn up by several learned persons, and not by one man, as Bishop Burnet supposes. *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 187.

with which they could, in this mode, express their contempt and dislike towards the professors of religion, had frequently made these representations the vehicles of satire. The violent reformers were not unwilling to encourage these licentious amusements, of which the clergy with justice complained; but the moderate and reflective portion of the Lutheran party, who deprecated the discredit thrown by these profane parodies upon religion in general, were not grieved to see them abolished. Literature has little reason to lament the loss of such productions as these moralities, the remains of which contain few claims either to poetic or to dramatic merit.

These important and useful regulations were followed by the publication of a new summary of religion, compiled from the opinions of the archbishops, and from those of the principal bishops and divines, and entitled a "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." This work, which obtained the common appellation of the "King's Book," and was intended as a supplement to "the Institution of a Christian Man," was set forth, as the preface informs us, "in order to recover the people to orthodoxy and union," they, "having wrested the holy text, out of a spirit of contention, and given rise to disputes and diversity of opinions." The "Erudition," consisting of distinct treatises

upon the seven sacraments, was therefore added, and, as the mind of the king had undergone some reversion since the publication of his last work, the doctrine of transubstantiation, which had been omitted in the "Institution," with other particulars strongly savouring of popery, were, with the usual inconsistency of all his proceedings, restored to their place of honour in this composition. The doctrine of passive obedience was strongly inculcated in both these works, and, at a period when the opinions of the people were commanded to veer about at the pleasure of their ruler, never was it more essential. The "Erudition" was set forth without the assent of convocation, by the authority of the king and of his parliament, and Henry was resolved that no opposition on the part of a nation whom he had taught to think, should now prevent that uniformity of opinion, which contrary to all reasonable expectations, and to all knowledge of human nature, he laboured to establish.

A war with Scotland diverted the mind of the king from the orthodoxy or the heterodoxy which prevailed among his subjects. The cause of hostilities appears actually to have been the disappointment which Henry sustained at York, where he had made magnificent preparations to receive his nephew, who declined that interview. But,

in a manifesto which Henry published, pretensions were revived to the right of vassalage from Scotland, complaints were made of the ingratitude of James to his uncle, who had generously forborne to trouble his dominions during his long minority, and depredations were stated to have been committed by the Scots, notwithstanding that many treaties had been begun between them and the English nation.

The real cause for complaint was, however, of little importance: Henry was in the humour for war, and James, urged by the King of France, rashly determined to meet the wishes of his uncle, in this respect. Late in November the Duke of Norfolk, who had been for some time ravaging the Borders, marched into Scotland, with a large army; but, on hearing that the King of Scots had assembled a still stronger force, Norfolk retreated into England. Unfortunately for his kingdom, James was at this period in a high state of mental excitement, occasioned probably by bodily disease; being disturbed by fancied apparitions, especially by the spirit of some person whom he had unjustly put to death. His judgment thus impaired by an inflamed imagination, James was seized with a desire to acquire military renown, by a desperate sally upon the English troops. He therefore commanded that his men should cross the Solway

into England, but the nobility, who disliked him for his manifest preference to the clergy, refused to obey the signal to march. James, indignant at their disaffection, deprived Lord Maxwell, one of their body, of the command of his army; and, unadvisedly, placed one of his favourites, Oliver Sinclair, a man of low birth, at the head of the troops. The army, indignant at this change, was about to disband, when a body of five hundred English appearing, commanded by Lord Dacres and Musgrave, they became panic-struck,and took to flight. In this skirmish, some of the principal Scottish nobility were taken prisoners, and sent to London, and although few lives were lost, yet, it decided the war. James, who was not many miles from his army, on hearing of so ignominious a defeat, was transported, alternately, with paroxysms of rage and of despair. Fate seemed to conspire with his nobles to destroy this accomplished prince: having no children alive, he earnestly desired a son, and hearing that the queen was safely delivered of a daughter, his despondency increased. "The crown," he said, "came with a woman, and it will go with one; many miseries await this poor kingdom; Henry will make it his own, either by force of arms, or by marriage." A few days after the defeat, he died, leaving an infant daughter, the celebrated Mary Queen of Scots,

who proved afterwards as accomplished and unfortunate as her father.

The progress of the Reformation, in Scotland, was accelerated by the death of James, and his kingdom, otherwise so great a sufferer in this short contest, was benefited by that event. Among the Scottish nobles who were brought as prisoners to London, was the Earl of Cassilis, who, after having been admonished by the council, with his companions, for undutiful conduct to the king, was sent to Lambeth Palace, where he was put as a prisoner upon his parole, under the custody of Cranmer. The archbishop, who knew that the Scots regarded with horror the changes which had recently taken place in England, determined not to lose so favourable an opportunity of converting a powerful nobleman to the reformed opinions, and succeeded so well, that his prisoner afterwards became a great promoter of Lutheranism in his native kingdom. The other imprisoned lords, Glencairn, Maxwell, Somervell, Oliphant, and Grey, together with Oliver Sinclair, were entertained with equal kindness; and being lodged with persons of quality about the court, and treated with *true English hospitality*, they imbibed so favourable a notion of this country as even to declare, "that they thought God better worshipped in England than on the

other side of the Tweed;" and charmed by the splendour with which the English court was maintained, they planned an union with a nation apparently so happy, by a proposal of marriags between their infant queen and the young Prince Edward. The king, who had long desired to form a strong tie between the two kingdoms, hearing of this proposal, sent for the Scottish lords to Hampton Court, and declaring his approbation of such a match, made them promise their assistance; and having obtained hostages from them in pledge, bestowed upon them their liberty. Delighted with this generosity, the Scotch lords took their leave on New year's day, and returned to their afflicted country.

So great had been the profusion of Henry, in squandering those revenues which had fallen into his hands from the suppressed monasteries, that he now began to experience that evil to which, of all monarchs, he had the least necessity to be exposed. The treasury was at this time nearly exhausted, and the privy seal had been already frequently given as security for sums to supply the royal exigency.* These temporary supplies were, however, inefficient, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to Parliament, which, meeting on the 22d of January, sat until the 29th of March. The

1543.

* *Herbert.*

temporality granted the king a subsidy of three shillings in the pound, to be paid in three years, while from convocation he obtained a subsidy of double that sum, to be obtained in the same period. It was on this occasion, says the most elegant of modern historians*, that the Emperor Charles the Fifth jocularly observed, that Henry, in abolishing the monasteries, had "destroyed the hen which laid him the golden egg:" alluding to the wonted liberality of the clergy in their grants to the crown.

The hopes of the Catholic party were, at this time, revived by a treaty with the emperor, into which Henry, actuated by his jealousy of the French influence in Scotland, had now entered.

A war with Francis was confidently expected, and Henry, dreading domestic disturbances while engaged in foreign hostilities, began to check the fierce spirit of religious persecution which had already blazed with so much fury. But it was difficult to adopt moderate measures while such a counsellor as Gardiner remained in his councils. Cranmer, availing himself of some expressions of the king's displeasure upon too rigorous an enactment of the six articles, introduced into parliament "an act for the advancement of true religion, and abolishment of the contrary." The most material clauses in

* *Robertson.*

this bill were the latitude respecting the articles extended, both to clergy and laity; the former being only subject to burning after a third conviction, while the punishment of the latter was changed into forfeiture of goods and chattels, and perpetual imprisonment. The six articles, it was true, continued still in force, but they were moderated by a proviso that the king might, at his own will, change this act or any provision in it.

So favourable an act for the reformers was not allowed by Gardiner and his partizans to pass without strenuous opposition. They found, however, in Cranmer, a mild but determined opponent. Although deserted by the Bishops of Hereford, Worcester, Chichester, and Rochester, and advised to give up the contest for his own safety, yet Cranmer pursued and carried his point: the bill was passed, and those whose hearts had before quailed at the severity of the former statutes, were re-assured.

The royal favour seemed now again to shine upon the friends of Reformation. Cranmer had been, it is true, for some time, in a situation of great peril; reports were daily circulated, that the king had resolved upon his ruin, and had determined to bring him to the scaffold; and so publicly did his enemies dare to insult him, that one Sir John Gostwick, instigated by Gardiner,

had attacked him in the House of Commons in the manner which has been detailed. The speech of Gostwick afforded a pretext to several lords, the enemies of Cranmer, to move that he should be carried to the Tower, since an impeachment had been entered against him, about which information could not be obtained in his presence. But Henry, exerting his own reason, investigated the rumours which had represented Cranmer as a promoter of heresy, and perceiving them to be the result of malice, determined to support the primate. He even took an early opportunity of evincing his undiminished confidence towards Cranmer; and one evening after supper, under pretence of amusement upon the water, he caused himself to be rowed to Lambeth, where Cranmer, being acquainted with his visit, sent some of his servants to beseech his highness to enter the palace. This Henry refused, but sending for the archbishop to sit by him, they held a long and private conference in the barge. In this interview the king sounded Cranmer on several important points. He informed him that he was charged with encouraging heterodoxy, and with opposing the six articles; and inquired, whether in his chamber he could stand the text of those celebrated dogmas, alluding to his marriage with the niece of Osiander. The archbishop in reply, disguised neither his aversion

to the articles nor his marriage, and earnestly desired legal inquiry into his conduct. In short, he satisfied the king so entirely as to his probity, that Henry declared he would commit his vindication entirely into his own hands.

After this explanation, Cranmer suspecting the authors of the plot, dispatched messengers to Canterbury, in order to search out those who thus sought his ruin; but, his agents proceeding but slowly in their office, Henry was brought by his enemies to consent, that could one proof of crime be adduced against the archbishop, he should be cast into prison. Gardiner and his party now confidently expected to have gained their point, and the king appeared in public to be resolved to allow Cranmer to encounter his fate. But, with some degree of humour, instigated by his desire to investigate the matter thoroughly, he sent for the archbishop, and warned him of the dangers by which he was surrounded. Cranmer received the intelligence with great simplicity, and declared his readiness to submit to a judicial inquiry; this willingness to submit to imprisonment, while it convinced Henry of his innocence, interested the king also in behalf of a man who possessed so little worldly wisdom to defend himself. He bade Cranmer attend the council on the following day, and await there his charge; but he desired him to demand the hearing of

those witnesses against him, before his committal to the Tower, and gave him, to support this request, a ring of great value as his signet case so reasonable a petition should be refused.

On the ensuing day, Cranmer being summoned to appear before the council, went to the council chamber, but was ordered to wait in the anti-room, where the servants and others attended the pleasure of the council. It happened that Dr. Butts *, the king's physician, saw him in this degraded and trying situation, and informed the king of the circumstance.† "The archbishop," said he, "is sunk from a metropolitan to a livery servant, for I saw him, as I passed, waiting about the council chamber as a servant."‡ "What," said the king, "do they treat the Primate of England in so contumelious a manner? But let them alone, we shall hear more about it soon." Upon this a gentleman was dispatched to order that Cranmer might be admitted into the council. On his entrance he was met with the heavy accusation which he anticipated, and was told

* Sir Ralph Butts, physician to Henry the Eighth, died in 1545, and is buried in Fulham church. *Weaver*, p. 525.

† *Life of Cranmer from Fox's Acts.*

‡ This anecdote must be already familiar to the reader, from the scene in Shakespeare's Play of Henry the Eighth; where, however, Dr. Butts is made to exhibit the ill treatment of Cranmer to the king by taking Henry to a little window, (similar to that already mentioned in the hall at Eltham,) overlooking the anti-room of the council chamber.

that the heresy which prevailed throughout the kingdom was dispersed by him and by his family; moreover, he was solemnly informed, that, until an investigation could take place, it was necessary that he should await the result of that process in the Tower; a place of security from which few who were sent to it in this reign were ever emancipated. Cranmer, as he had been instructed by the king, now demanded his privilege to confront his accusers, and to defend himself before the council board. It was, he alleged, too great an indignity to the Primate of England to be hurried to prison upon bare suspicion, and such treatment would lead to so strong an inference of his guilt, as would be apt to injure him when his trial actually came on. But this reasonable request, which he seconded by other arguments, was of no avail, and Cranmer had now recourse to that mark of the favour of the king which he bore about him. The consternation of the council may easily be conceived when the archbishop produced the ring, and declared that to be the sign by which the order for his commitment was superseded. The Earl of Bedford, with an oath reminded the lords that he had told them what would come of it; "do you think," said he, "that the king will suffer this man's finger to ache? Much more, I warrant you, will he defend his life against

babbling varlets." The council in dismay, immediately carried the signet to Henry, and referred the business, as they were now obliged to do, entirely into the hands of the king. Henry was in no humour to spare the abashed and discomfited counsellors; and, on their appearing before him, he gave them a severe reprimand for their insolence in daring to make a Primate of England wait in the passage like a valet, and declared himself shocked at their want of decency and discretion! And then, clapping his hand to his heart, he protested that he was more indebted to Cranmer than to any man living, and that those who desired his service and affections, should treat the archbishop with respect. The council were too well aware of the temper of the king not to be awed into silence: but the Duke of Norfolk, whose warlike achievements gave him much credit with his sovereign, attempted some vindication, and asserted that, in desiring the imprisonment of the primate, they only sought to clear him more effectually from the imputations cast upon his character. Henry was not, however, entirely appeased, but desiring them to make up their differences, which otherwise he would adjust himself, withdrew; and the council saluted Cranmer with all the usual marks of respect. This occurrence established Cranmer in the favour of the king, in whose

regard, during the remainder of his reign, he retained a firm station.*

It may easily be supposed how favourable to the progress of the reformed religion the renewed influence of Cranmer became; and an event equally propitious took place, in the month of July, during this year. Henry had begun to think once more of marriage; and notwithstanding the many difficulties which, by various acts, he had thrown in the way of a new alliance, he succeeded in forming a suitable connection with Katharine Parr, a woman of considerable learning and abilities, of mature age, and of enlarged views on religious subjects.

1543.

Like all the other consorts of Henry, who were of English extraction, Katharine Parr was a woman of honourable lineage, but not of high birth. Henry, in this and in other instances, discovering a repugnance to honour the ancient nobility with any particular proofs of his preference. Sir Thomas Parr, (Parre, or Par) the father of the new queen, was a country gentleman residing at Kendal, in Westmorland, and a frequent attendant at court, where he was honoured with various marks of regard by the king.†

* *Collier*, p. 201.

† Among others with a gold chain, which Sir Thomas bequeathed to his son.

Although not rich, yet Sir Thomas had bestowed upon his daughter Katharine a learned education, at that time frequently imparted to females of good parentage, and as she discovered great parts and application, the knight had no reason to repent his attention to the culture of her abilities. Katharine, whose mind was of a devout turn, has been considered by the indulgent Mr. Walpole, as a literary queen, chiefly from the composition of several prayers, one of which, in the time of war, on occasion of the subsequent expedition of the king into France, is not destitute of sublimity.* She was, indeed, a zealous theologian, brought up in the Catholic faith, but inclining, at this time, to the Protestant cause; and it was probably her skill in polemical discussions that first won the approbation of the king. In personal charms, she appears to have been inferior to all the wives of Henry the Eighth, except the unsightly Anne of Cleves, but she is said to have been pleasing in her deportment, and far from disagreeable in her appearance. At this period, being thirty-two years old †, she was past that age after which a woman can scarcely, with propriety, be said to possess beauty, the combination of elasticity and

* See *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.*

† She was born in 1510. *Archæologia, Life of K. Parre,* vol. ix. p. 5.

bloom with grace and expression being essential to constitute that fascinating attribute. For this reason, however, Katharine was perhaps better calculated to be the wife of one, whose jealous suspicions were not likely to decrease as age and infirmities augmented the irritability of his temper.

Although deficient in those qualities, which in Anne Bullen increase the interest which her tragical story excites, Katharine, like that unfortunate woman, is supposed to have possessed a heart not wholly unfettered by an attachment in another quarter, at the time of her marriage with the king.* Before her elevation to the throne of England, Katharine had been twice married; once to Edward Borough, son of Lord Borough of Gainsborough, and afterwards to Nevil, Lord Latimer; by neither of whom had she had any children. Unfortunately for her future welfare, Katharine, after the decease of Henry, placed her affections upon the brother of Jane Seymour, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Ludeley, in Gloucestershire, to whom she was subsequently married; and whatever she may have dreaded from the violent temper of her royal husband, was realized in the accumulated injuries she received from Seymour. That aspiring man, in whom every sentiment of honour appears to have

* *Archæologia*, vol. ix. pp. 5 to 7.

been subservient to his ambition, was actuated by interested motives in marrying Katharine Parr, who, easy and unsuspicious as she was, is said to have been frequently distressed by the intrigues of Seymour with her step-daughter, the Princess Elizabeth. Although, from the haste which Katharine afterwards evinced to marry Seymour, it is more than probable that she was attached to him during the life-time of the king; but it does not appear that any interruption to the connubial comforts of Katharine arose out of that particular source.

The king appeared for some time perfectly contented with his choice; yet, neither the queen nor Cranmer could prevent the persecution of a Protestant Society in Windsor, where, as Henry frequently resorted, it was thought proper to make some examples of these persons. The information given against certain individuals there was procured by means of Dr. London, who had formerly been one of Cromwell's active, but corrupt agents, and who had, since the death of that minister, insinuated himself into the favour and service of Gardiner. The persons indicted were Anthony Person, a priest, Robert Yestwood, and John Marbeck, singing men, with Henry Filmer, a person of the town. Marbeck, who had with great ingenuity and perseverance, assisted by a very faint knowledge of Latin, made

a concordance, which he had brought as far as the letter *L*, was indicted merely on a charge of having written out an epistle of Calvin against the mass. He was found guilty with the rest, but pardoned. The others were hung, although their offences amounted to nothing more than some unguarded expressions against the service of mass. These unfortunate and innocent sufferers, met their fate with great composure, and, in their last moments, prayed for the forgiveness of their enemies. A plot was also formed for the destruction of Sir Phillip Hobby and Sir Thomas Cawarden, who were said to have encouraged these men in their heresy; but the conspiracy being discovered, London and Simonds, its contrivers, were ordered to be taken on horseback, with their faces to the horses' tails, to the pillory, in which they were set in Windsor, in Reading, and in Newbury, successively. Doctor London died soon after, as was said, of a broken heart, in consequence of this well-merited disgrace.

Meanwhile the king's negociations in Scotland respecting the marriage of the infant queen with the young Prince of Wales, met with little encouragement. Scotland was embroiled by the intrigues of Cardinal Beatoun, who assumed a right to the regency by virtue of the will of the late king, a document which he was supposed to

have forged. The Earl of Arran, on the other hand, being the nearest in blood to the young queen, and having the affections of the nation, was invited to become regent, and was confirmed in that office by parliament. Sir Ralph Sadler was sent as ambassador, on the part of England, to arrange the marriage which the king had so much at heart, and to offer, as a bribe, the Lady Elizabeth in marriage to the son of Arran. A treaty was concluded in August, but it was arranged that the young queen should remain in Scotland until she had attained the age of ten: the king might, however, send a nobleman and his wife, with others, not exceeding the number of twenty, to attend upon her. But this treaty was not of long duration: Arran was afterwards, from various motives, drawn to the French interest, which, through the assistance of the queen-mother and Beatoun, attained the ascendancy. The Earl of Lenox, who had been employed as a tool by the French court to work upon Arran, was superseded in that office by John Hamilton, the natural brother of the regent, and Archbishop of St. Andrews. Lenox, in disgust, withdrew to England, where Henry bestowed on him, in marriage, the Lady Margaret Douglas, his niece, and daughter of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, by her second husband, the Earl of Angus. From this union sprung

the unfortunate Henry, Lord Darnley, afterwards married to Mary Queen of Scots.

One pleasing anecdote, a relief in the midst of intrigues, broils, and religious persecutions, is recorded of Henry. The Earl of Cassilis, finding the treaty of marriage broken off, rejected the advice of the French faction, to leave the hostages which he had placed in the English court as guarantees of his faith, to the mercy of the king. He deemed, truly, that such conduct would have been base in the extreme. He returned, therefore, to London, an exception to the rest, who agreed to break their honour, and again offered himself as a prisoner. Henry, from whose incensed mind worse things might have been feared, was not insensible to the probity of the Scottish Earl. He called him another Regulus, gave him, not only his own liberty, but that of the hostages, and made him many noble presents.*

Towards the close of this year, war was declared against France, and parliament
1543. meeting soon afterwards, an Act of Succession was passed, in contemplation of the king's intention of making war in person. By this bill the Princess Mary, and after
Jan. 14, 1544. her, the Princess Elizabeth, were declared the next heirs in default of issue of the Prince Edward, or of heirs by the present

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 589.

marriage of the king. A new oath was devised against the supremacy of the pope, and for the maintenance of the Act of Succession. The influence of Cranmer was also visible, for a revision of the canon law was continued, and an act passed to that effect; but the primate was not able to succeed in obtaining such a body of ecclesiastical laws to be framed, as he desired, in order to regulate the spiritual courts. The king, jealous of his prerogative, was determined to keep some important points undetermined.

Henry was now greatly in distress for money, and he had again recourse to an expedient which was then customary in Europe. He not only raised the price of gold from forty-five to forty-eight shillings an ounce, and that of silver from three shillings and nine-pence to four shillings, but ordered a considerable quantity of base coin to be made current, a practice which gave general dissatisfaction, and which was, in fact, rejected in the southern counties of England. The alloys were afterwards called in by Queen Elizabeth. An act was also passed, similar to that enacted in the twenty-first year of the reign, remitting the payment of the loan which the king had raised from his subjects, with this extraordinary addition, that all such as had received payment of any part of the sums lent by them to the king, should return them to the exchequer. The

benevolence was, however, raised with difficulty, and two instances of despotism occur in this part of our history, which shew to what a pitch the arbitrary power of Henry was carried. In the city of London, two aldermen having refused to pay the contributions; one of them, Read, though sixty years of age, and unaccustomed to military exercises, was forced to serve in the army against the Scots, by whom he was taken prisoner, and to whom he was obliged to pay a high ransom: and another man, named Roach, was confined on account of misconduct before the king's council, imprisoned for some months, and was at last forced to pay a considerable fine in order to obtain his liberty.

CHAP. X.

The King begins the War with Scotland. — Success of his arms. — Henry prepares to cross the seas. — New Chancellor. — The Queen appointed Regent. — Success in France. — Boulogne taken, 1545. *— French Fleet attempt to invade England. — English Fleet sails to Normandy. — The King's arms in Scotland receive a check: defeated at Ancram. — Treaty of Peace between France, England, and Scotland. — Proceedings at home; meeting of Parliament. — Religious Institutions entirely surrendered to the King; his speech to Parliament. — The irritability of his temper. — Anne Askew. — Danger of Queen Katharine Parr. — Trial of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Surrey; death of the latter. — The decline and death of the King.*

HENRY began his military operations this year by an unsuccessful invasion of Scotland.
1544. The general appointed to take the command of the troops was Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, afterwards protector of the realm, and Duke of Somerset. The progress of this nobleman to the eminent station which he now held, both in the council, and in the field, until the marriage of the king with Jane Sey-

mour had been gradual, and almost unpromising; but the elevation of his sister to the throne, immediately influenced the fortunes of Seymour. Yet the merits of this celebrated statesman and general might have entitled him to distinction from his sovereign, independent of adventitious circumstances. The education of Seymour had been liberal, and, notwithstanding the assertion that he could neither read nor write, he had profited by his studies at both the universities, as far as his military pursuits, in which he engaged at an early period, permitted him.* Greater, according to Burnet, as a soldier than as a statesman, the abilities of Seymour in war were fully displayed during the life of Henry: his merits, or his errors of administration were not manifested until the succeeding reign. For the equanimity of his temper, and the humility and moderation of his deportment, Seymour, like his sister, was commended and esteemed; and it was to these qualities that Seymour probably owed the unremitting confidence and favour of Henry, who had never evinced towards him that caprice which many greater but less prudent men had experienced from the king.

The military operations which Seymour now commenced were, in some respects, remarkably successful. As it was determined to invade

* *Wood's Athen. Oxon.* vol. i.

Scotland by sea, Hertford set sail early in May, the fleet being under the command of Dudley, Lord Lisle *, Admiral of England; and the troops were landed at Grantham Crag, to the north of Leith. After some days spent in disembarkation, the English army entered Leith and Edinburgh, and despoiled and burned the towns, but were unable to gain possession of the Castle of Edinburgh. His army being reinforced, Hertford continued his course to Berwick, with the same destructive measures, and by this conduct irritated the Scots, without effecting a permanent conquest. Either through insufficiency on the part of the general, or from want of sagacity in the government which directed his steps, Hertford committed a great error during this campaign, in neglecting to leave a garrison in the town of Leith, which, together with his inability to possess himself of the Castle of Edinburgh, prevented Henry from becoming entire master of Scotland.

Henry had scarcely leisure to reflect upon the success of his arms in Scotland, or the possible consequences of their operations, for, he was engaged in preparations to pass over to France,

* This Dudley, the son of the notorious agent of Henry the Seventh, was made lord chamberlain in the reign of Edward the Sixth, and had a grant of Warwick Castle, formerly the seat of his ancestors. *Lodge*, vol. i. p. 92.

and in arrangements for the security and welfare of his kingdom in his absence. Thomas Audley, the Lord Chancellor, had died during the Spring *, and the catholic party hailed with joy as his successor, Lord Wriothesley, formerly secretary to the king, and created Baron Tichborne during the year 1543. But Henry, whose policy it was, during the later years of his life, to preserve an equilibrium between the two factions, diminished the exultation of the papists by appointing Sir William Petre, the friend of Cranmer, Secretary of State; and the queen was constituted regent, during the absence of the king in France, and was to hold that office in conjunction with the primate, the chancellor, and the secretary. Lord Hertford, who had returned from Scotland, and who was a known favourer of the Reformation, was de-

* The epitaph upon the tomb of Audley is instanced by Fuller as a lamentable proof of bad taste: this chancellor, says the same quaint historian, took care that better poetry should be written in future by founding Magdalen College in Cambridge. The lines are as follows:

"The stroak of death's inevitable dart,
"Hath now! alas, of life bereft the heart
"Of Sir Thomas Audley, of the Garter Knight,
"Late chancellor of England under our prince of might
"Henry the Eighth worthy of high renown,
"And made him Lord Audley of this town.

He was buried at Saffron Walden in Essex. *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i. p. 367.

puted lieutenant, in case of commotions. But the most decisive encouragement to the Protestants was the permission given by the king, previous to his departure, for the translation of the litanies into English, in order, as he declares in his letter to Cranmer, that the people may be more willing and regular in their attendance at church.* This judicious concession appeared also to promise that an English translation of all the other offices of the church might speedily be allowed; and the hopes of the reformers were revived by the measure.†

These satisfactory arrangements being completed, Henry set out on his final military expedition. Although now become extremely corpulent, the king is reported by tradition to have performed this last journey on horseback as far as Dover, resting on the way at the residence of Archbishop Cranmer, at Forde.‡ From Dover the king crossed to Calais, and encamped himself on the 26th of July, within a mile of the town of Boulogne. Upon this place so vigorous an assault was plied, by the Duke of Suffolk, that in the course of a month the town, with scarcely a house entire, capitulated, and Brandon entering the city, received the keys

* *Herbert*, p. 570.

† *Collier*, vol. ii. p. 202, also *Herbert*, p. 573.

‡ *Hasted's Hist. Kent*, p. 199.

of the gates. On the following day the king entered as a conqueror, attended by the Imperial envoy, and preceded by the Marquis of Dorset bearing the sword of state. After converting the Cathedral of Boulogne into a fortress, Henry returned to England, and soon recalled the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Russel who were encamped before Montreuil, which they abandoned after a long siege. The emperor who had obtained a promise from Henry to proceed to the siege of Paris, at once, while the imperial troops, assisted by Sir John Wallop, at the head of six thousand English, should invade the Netherlands, was indignant at the English monarch for wasting his time and forces upon towns comparatively of so little importance as Boulogne and Montreuil. And, having now brought the affairs of Germany into a condition in which he considered the assistance of Francis as more necessary to his views than that of Henry, Charles, with his usual subtle policy, concluded a treaty with France, of which Henry was apprised before he had quitted the scene of his conquests. A faint show of admitting Henry into the treaty was indeed made, and Francis sent to Henry some proposals of peace, which were rejected. Henry, resolving to revenge himself in the next campaign, returned to England, where he employed himself during the winter in re-fortifying

the forts of Dover, Portsmouth, Tilbury, Gravesend, and others, and in distributing among them the stores of ordnance usually kept in the Tower. Among these were small pieces of artillery, resembling those still called drakes, for the protection of baggage-waggons and bulwarks, invented by the king, who was, according to Lord Herbert, "a great soldier, and of a singular capacity in apprehending all the new devices which in these kinds daily appear." It was in the late war, that the pistol was first brought into use by the French cavalry.*

At this time, Henry, as on several former occasions, experienced the good effects of his attention to the naval power of England. Francis, having resolved to recover Calais and Boulogne, dispatched a fleet of two hundred and twenty ships for the purpose of landing on the Isle of Wight, or on the coast of Sussex, in order to make reprisals on some of the English towns. But Henry prevented their descent with a fleet of a hundred sail, commanded by Dudley, Lord Lisle, which, after the retreat of the French, sailed to Normandy, where they landed troops, and ravaged the country.

The war with Scotland was continued during this, and part of the following year with various success. The impolicy of those ravages which

* *Herbert.*

Henry had permitted his troops to make, and by which the city of Edinburgh had been nearly consumed, was visible in the hatred which the Scots exhibited to the Earl of Lenox, who headed the English party in Scotland. The English arms were unsuccessful: Sir Ralph Evers, the warden of the marches, fell in an engagement at Ancram, where, through the bravery of Norman Lesly, son of the Earl of Rothes, the English troops were defeated. But the Scots, divided among themselves, and depressed by religious persecutions, had little power to make a steady and effectual resistance.

Henry began now to evince a disposition to peace, to which, it was thought the visible decline of his health, induced him to accede. He contemplated with dread the long minority of his son, Prince Edward, who would probably ascend the throne under circumstances so different to those which had attended his own accession. Fortunately for the king, Francis the First was equally weary of a war which had yielded him but few advantages, and which had exhausted his resources. He had been unsuccessful during the winter in his attempts to regain Calais and Boulogne: his army was thinned by pestilence and disease, and above all, his rival, Charles, was in close conjunction with the Pope, at peace with the Turks, and regaining, in part, his ascen-

dancy over the Princes of Germany. Actuated by these considerations, a treaty was concluded at Campe near Calais, in which Scotland was included. The chief article in the terms of this peace was the retention of Boulogne in the possession of the English until the King of France should pay a stipulated sum of money, already, in part, due to this country. This arrangement, which was on the whole favourable to Henry, was particularly expedient at this period; for he required repose, and found an exemption from foreign wars agreeable to a mind and constitution both rapidly decaying. His temper, turbulent when young, and captious, irritable and sometimes furious in his latter years, deprived him of that enjoyment and respectability which might have been his portion, had he been as much occupied in regulating his own mind, as he was in directing the consciences of his subjects.

June 7, 1546.

Another source of annoyance to the king in his later days, was the want of money. When we consider the immense sums which were squandered in the beginning of this reign in pageants, tournaments, and unnecessary wars, we are not inclined to wonder at any inconvenience, in this respect, which so lavish a monarch might undergo. During the latter part, however, of his reign, and especially since the

death of Jane Seymour, the inclination of the king for pleasures of an expensive kind, seems to have declined, and the revenues which he derived from the dissolution of monasteries, chantries, and shrines were so prodigious, and the grants from his subjects were so liberal, that it is still a question how one, upon whom the gifts of fortune fell so lavishly, could have derived from them so little profit. However this may have been, the last public acts of this king were directed to supply his unjustifiable emergences. We have seen that he had promulgated a currency of alloys to increase his funds for the French war. The proportion of alloy in these coins being gradually increased, finally exceeded that of the silver in the proportion of two to one: but a still more disgraceful expedient throws a stain on the close of Henry's reign. When the last parliament, which the king attended in person, met, in November, 1545, a continuance of the subsidy given by the clergy was required, and granted; and it was to be paid in two years, on the plea of the recent expensive wars in France. On the same grounds, an act was passed replete with unprecedented injustice. Among the ruins of religious houses, there had been some institutions of the same nature spared, with a view to the maintenance of hospitality and of learning. Among these were a certain

number of chantries, or endowments of lands, or other revenues for the maintenance of one or more priests to say mass daily for the souls of the founders, or of his relations, sometimes at particular altars, sometimes at chapels erected for the purpose.* A number of these remains of superstition were still allowed to continue by the rapacious Henry; for the doctrine of purgatory, although not enjoined by the bishops, yet, received not its final condemnation in this reign; and, though much diminished in credit, it was still believed by numbers, and among other half protestants by the king. Henry, indeed, manifested his belief in its truth, when he desired that masses might be sung for his own soul. These institutions, together with sundry colleges, free chapels, hospitals, guilds, and fraternities with their manors, had, for the most part, reverted to their founders, who had granted leases of them, for the various purposes to which they were assigned. An act was now passed, bestowing all such foundations on the king and his successors, and empowering them, at any time, to issue out commissions for the seizure of their lands and goods. The premises of the act state, that the revenues of chantries, hospitals, &c., being unemployed, are put into the hands of the king in order to render them serviceable for the uses to which

* Preface to *Tanner's Notitia*, p. 28. note.

they were intended. These endowments, therefore, were put into the order and survey of the Court of Augmentation.* No enemy to superstition could regret the final annihilation of these relics of monachism, but indignation is excited by the prodigality which tempted the rapacious monarch to avail himself of these resources, and by the remorseless injustice with which he appropriated them to his own treasury.

The business being finished, the king went to the house, and addressed them in a long speech, the details of which might appear tedious to the modern hearer, although we are assured, by Hall, who wrote his account of it shortly afterwards, that the "king's oration was unto his subjects such comfort, that the like joy could not be unto them in this world." The substance of his majesty's exhortation was, first an acknowledgment of the confidence shewn to him, not only by the subsidy, but by the deliverance of religious houses up to him, and a promise to order them to the glory of God, and to the profit

* By another Act, seventy manors, belonging to the Archbishopric of York, were assured to the king, having been sold to the crown, as it stated, during the previous year by Archbishop Holgate. The exchange is specified, and it is probable that the royal bargain was a very advantageous one to the crown. In this parliament an act was passed, also, assigning a punishment to those who took a higher interest in money than ten per cent. The tithes of houses in the city of London, were also settled, according to their rent.

of the common wealth. In the second place, the king referred with much earnestness to the prevailing discord and discussion on religious points, which, by his various contradictory acts he had done much to promote, and he reproved them, in the words of St. Paul, for that want of charity which led to the opprobrious terms of anabaptist, papist, hypocrite, or pharisee. "Some," said the king, alluding to a popular anecdote, "be too stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and some be too busy and curious with their new *sumpsimus*. Thus all men be in variety and discord, and few preach the word of God truly, and as they ought to do."* "I am very sorry to hear," continues the king in another place, "that that precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rymed, and jangled in every tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same." Yet since Henry had drawn aside the veil from the altar, by permitting the translation of the scripture, it was now impossible for him to prevent the discussion of the glories of revelation, and the attempts to investigate its mysteries. Persecution was in his power, and he could check, but not impede the progress of inquiry. Irritated

* Henry, borrowed this trope from a tale told of an obstinate priest, who persisted when reading the mass, in saying "*mumpsimus*," instead of sumpsimus, and when told of his mistake, said that he had no liking to new fashions. *Andrew's Hist. Gt. Britain*, vol. ii. p. 297.

by his disorders, the cruel nature of which excused impatience, but presented no apology for cruelty, the last years of the miserable monarch were sullied by the destruction of the celebrated Anne Askew. This beautiful and accomplished woman was of a good family, and of high acquirements, being sister to Sir Francis Ascough, or Askew, but she had been unfortunately united in marriage to one Kyme, a furious catholic, who banished her from his house when he discovered that she was inclined to Lutheranism. Anne, who appears to have incurred unmerited censure from the Catholics for leaving her husband, "gadding to gospel, and gossip it at court," now resumed her maiden name, and took refuge among her friends in the metropolis. Among the circle of her acquaintance, which were very numerous, were many ladies of high rank at court, where Anne had frequently resorted among the gay and great; and she was also induced to hope for the protection of Queen Katharine Parr, who had shewn her some favour. But upon information of words uttered by her denying the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, this unfortunate lady was committed to prison, whence she was brought up for examination before Bonner. After a long interrogation, Anne was induced by the bishop to sign a species of recantation, which

not being satisfactory to the mind of that bigot, she was with difficulty bailed by him, at the intercession of many persons of rank. Soon afterwards, the youthful and fair theologian was again apprehended, and examined before the lords in council, when the lord mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, confident in his powers of conversion, desired leave to interrogate her, and a curious colloquy ensued between them, in which Sir Martin appeared in a most ridiculous point of view. "Thou foolish woman," began the civic knight, "sayest thou that the priests cannot make the body of Christ?" "I say so, my lord," replied the intrepid Anne, "for I have read that God made man, but I never read, nor, I suppose ever shall read, that man made God." "No," rejoined the mayor, "what! after the words of consecration, is not the bread the Lord's body? what if a mouse eat it after the consecration, what shall become of the mouse? I say that mouse is damned!" To this denunciation Anne simply answered, "alack poor mouse!" and the council unable to contain their laughter, dismissed the prisoner.*

These replies from Anne and her other witty answers to the various members of the council, and especially to Gardiner, were regarded by her partizans as proofs of superior wisdom and

* *Strype.*

knowledge, and by her enemies as the effusions of a flippant and misguided spirit. During the proceedings against her, Nicholas Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, who had been long imprisoned upon a charge of heresy, was threatened with the flames in consequence of an affirmation which he had made, that Christ's body was not in the sacrament: but the prospect of so cruel a death inducing him to recant, he signed a paper declaring his error, and thanking the king for his salvation both from temporal and eternal fire. Upon this confession, he was commissioned to persuade the courageous Anne Askew to pursue the same line of conduct that had procured his release; but she, instead of sharing the ignominy of the bishop, refused to listen to his reasoning, and reproached him with his weakness. She was again examined, and Wriothesley, who, with the rest of his party, desired to implicate the queen in her misfortune, interrogated her strictly as to the encouragement she had received from ladies of rank; the Dutchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Sussex, the Countess of Hertford, the Lady Darney, and the Lady Fitz-Williams, were strongly suspected of favouring similar doctrines; and, above all, the queen was known to be the grand support of the party. But the prisoner, in her magnanimous determination, was resolute not to criminate others, and

could only be brought to acknowledge, that a footman in livery had brought her some money, which he said, was sent to her by two ladies in the court. Upon this, the unfortunate young woman was taken to the Tower, and there put upon the rack. On this dreadful occasion, the fortitude of Anne, sustained by the most exalted sentiments of religion, did not forsake her, and she still refused either to retract, or to criminate others. Her frame being overcome at last by the torture, bodily weakness obliged her to seek the support of a chair, in which she was taken to the place of execution. Here she was joined, in the gloom of night by several fellow sufferers, who met their cruel fate with composure, Shaxton preaching the sermon on this occasion, and the council looking on the afflicting spectacle. After the sermon was finished, the reeds were kindled, and the poor victim was quickly consumed. Lassels, a gentleman, John Adams, a tailor, and one Belenian, a priest, were put to the stake at the same time, and even those who spoke with these devoted persons were marked for future trial.

John Loud, a zealous protestant, who was present at this heart-rending scene, declares that after Anne Askew had undergone the tortures of the rack, her countenance displayed a smiling serenity, and her face, in which the

enthusiasm of the moment gave dignity to feminine beauty, "was as the face of an angel." Some minutes before her death, a few pleasant drops of rain descending, accompanied by thunder, were regarded by the afflicted and superstitious sacramentaries who stood around the blazing pile, as the voice of God, consoling the suffering martyr, and reproving her executioners.* Such was the fate of the first female martyr to the Protestant tenets: but victims of a higher order were now the object of that faction which had condemned the lovely and high-minded Anne Askew.

During the preceding year, Cranmer had lost a friend of the utmost importance to him at this critical juncture. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who died in August, 1545, had retained to his last hour that favour with the king which he had never risked by impolitic temerity, nor by a greater portion of sincerity and candour than agreed with the atmosphere of the court. At heart a Protestant, the influence of Brandon was of the utmost importance to his party; for his early connexion, and long services to the crown, and his compliance with all the humours of Henry, had ensured the duke a stability of fortune, rarely to be enjoyed by any person dependant on the will and pleasure

* *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 619. and *Strype*, vol. i. p. 600.

of another, but peculiarly uncommon to those courtiers who rested their hopes of fortune, and their security in life, upon this capricious monarch. Some forebodings of his death appear to have entered into the mind of the gallant Brandon, before his last journey into France with the king; for he made his will, in which he desired that his body might be interred without any "outward pomp or pride of the world," in the collegiate church of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire; but this injunction was disregarded by his executors at the command of Henry, who, from a desire of doing honour to his old companion in arms, caused him to be pompously interred in the chapel of St. George's at Windsor. In memorial, probably, of the early friendship between him and the king, Brandon bequeathed to his patron a cup of gold, which he ordered to be made out of his collar of gold.

The life of Brandon, though prosperous in the world, had not been without its private troubles; nor his character, though generally esteemed honourable, without some blemishes upon its purity. Early in life, Brandon, then the rising favourite and ornament of the English court, had married Margaret, the widow of Sir John Mortimer, and the daughter of Neville, Marquis Montacute. From Lady Mortimer, Brandon was divorced shortly after his marriage, at the request of the

lady, upon a plea of a pre-contract between her husband and the daughter of Sir Anthony Browne, Lieutenant of Calais; and, in consequence of this proceeding, Brandon was obliged to return to his former mistress, whom he married, and by whom he had two children. The daughters borne by the Queen of France to the duke, have been already mentioned. By his fourth and last wife, Katharine, the daughter and heiress of William, Lord Eresby, the duke had two sons, who died of the sweating sickness: but whatever his private afflictions may have been, few persons, who took a conspicuous part in public affairs during this reign, were so little acquainted with calamity as Brandon.

The king mourned the death of his early associate in arms and in pleasure, and, perhaps, regarded this event as a presage of his own decay. The Papists took advantage of it to make one attempt more in favour of their own ascendancy. To Cranmer, they had never dared to direct an attack, since the memorable scene of the council chamber; the queen, therefore, became the object of their machinations, for she had acquired, during the short period of her marriage, considerable influence over the mind of Henry. Her conversation was animated, her manners were easy and agreeable, and the attention which she paid to the bodily comforts of the

king, made him rejoice that he had chosen so prudent and staid a nurse, to cheer the hours of sickness. From the immense corpulency of his person, and the indulgence of his habits, the king had now become a pitiable sufferer; ulcers, considerable in magnitude and number, having broken out in his thighs and legs. These wounds were dressed by the queen with her own hands, for women of the highest rank were then regularly instructed in the simple operations of surgery, of which so lamentable an ignorance now prevails among females, otherwise expert and well informed. Kneeling for hours, Katharine endeavoured by gentle palliatives to soothe the anguish and irritability of the impatient monarch; and at these times, their discourse generally turned upon religion, the most fashionable topic of the day, and the most interesting subject of discussion to the king. In these conversations, the queen, aware of her increasing influence, ventured sometimes to differ from the veteran polemic, her husband, and dared to maintain the argument in favour of her own opinions. One day, however, her zeal outstripping her discretion, Katharine offended the king, who, after she had left him for the night, complained of her obstinacy to the Bishop of Winchester. Gardiner chiming with the king's humour, called in the chancellor to his aid, and

between them, they raised the wrath of the monarch to the highest pitch, by various stories and insinuations against the queen. The infuriated Henry was even induced to sign the articles for her impeachment; and his kind nurse and faithful wife, whose only fault was, that she had had the best of the dispute, would have become a victim to the conceit and violence of Henry, had not an accident revealed her danger. The paper on which her destiny was declared, slipped from the pocket of the Lord Chancellor, and was conveyed to her by one of her friends. Katharine, with admirable prudence, went to the king, and not appearing to be aware of his intentions, told him, when he began the subject of religion, that women, being subject to men, and made after their image, as men were made after the image of God, ought to receive instruction from their husbands, who were so fit to communicate it: how much more, then, she concluded, ought she to be taught by his majesty, who was a prince of such excellent learning and wisdom. "Not so, Kate, by St. Mary," replied the king, "for you are become a doctor, able to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us:" upon which she, apologizing for her zeal, in opposing so able a tutor, declared that she had done so only to beguile him of his pain, by engaging him in conversa-

tion. "Is it even so," said the king; "then are we friends again:" he then embraced her, and sent her away, with many professions of his constant and fervent attachment. On the following day he sent for the queen to accompany him into the garden, in which he was accustomed to take exercise in fair weather. Whilst they were walking, the Lord Chancellor, who had arranged to commit the queen that day to the Tower, entered with forty of the guard, in order to arrest her; but the king, withdrawing for a while, held a short conference with him, in which the words "knave, fool, and beast," were very audible; and finished by bidding him "to get out of his presence." The queen, who was not aware of the immediate danger that awaited her, made some excuses for the chancellor; to which the king, who was now completely ashamed of the business, told her, that she had no reason to plead in behalf of that wretch. The termination of this affair was regarded in various points of view by different persons; by some it was thought that the king had never intended the destruction of Katharine, but had merely desired to terrify her into compliance with his opinions. The bishop long felt the effects of the jest, if it is to be considered in that light, for we find a submission from him on record soon afterwards; and his name, which had been pre-

viously inserted in the king's will, as one of the executors, was now erased from that document.

The death of Anne Askew, and of other distinguished sufferers during the reign of Henry, inspire the human mind with sympathy and commiseration; but, perhaps, the most lamentable, if not the most affecting consequences of the cruelty and injustice of Henry, are still to be related. During the small portion of his remaining life, the Seymours, with the Earl of Hertford at their head, acquired a complete influence with the king, and thus suddenly raised to power, they endeavoured to establish their greatness the more securely, by the destruction of others. It is melancholy to view the consequences of political faction in the reign of those princes whose passions have rendered them the ready prey of able, but designing men; it is still more afflicting to observe that the elevated sentiments of religion appear to be powerless when opposed to the considerations of ambition. The Seymours were warmly attached to the Protestant faith, and the Earl of Hertford, in particular, was noted for his supposed piety. Between this family and the Howards, an inveterate jealousy had long subsisted, which proved the ruin of one of the noblest scions of the house of Norfolk. Henry, Earl of Surrey, the eldest son of the

1546.

Duke of Norfolk, had set the bright example, not of deriving his lustre solely from the splendour of his descent, but of adding to it by his personal merit. One of the most chivalric of warriors, and the most esteemed of poets of his day, the virtues and accomplishments of this ill-fated nobleman gave far more glory to his family, than all the distinctions which the brave and aspiring house of Howard had obtained. In one respect only was Surrey deficient; he wanted prudence to give security to his pre-eminence in rank, in fortune, and in talent. Jealous of honour, and disdainful of personal risk, he could neither brook the slightest appearance of insult, nor the shadow of reproach upon his military reputation.* During the recent wars in France, Surrey had distinguished himself in various gallant encounters, and, at the close of that fruitless enterprize, had received the important office of governor of Boulogne. Here he sought, incessantly, to add to the renown of the English arms, by sallies and skirmishes with

* Leland speaking in commendation of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the elder, calls Surrey the "Conscript enrolled heir" of Sir Thomas, delighting in the same pursuit.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, son of the Earl of Surrey, told his private secretary, (says Fuller, who related it to me,) that his nativity, at his father's desire, was calculated by a skilful Italian astrologer, who told him that this his infant son should taste of much trouble in the midst of his life, even to the want of a meal's meat; all of which came to pass.

the enemy, and even by personally engaging in single combat, to which he also incited his followers, in emulation of the days of old. But many disadvantages attended the station which Surrey held at Boulogne: the garrison was ill fortified, and ill supplied; the inhabitants of the town were sickly, and the French were admirably situated for cutting off supplies, and for firing into the town. With all these unfavourable circumstances against him, Surrey was occasionally unsuccessful in his skirmishes with the enemy, and after an unfortunate engagement with the French, in which several English officers were slain, Surrey was recalled, Lord Hertford was appointed captain-general over the English pale in France, and Lord Gray, the personal enemy of Surrey, was deputed to take the command of Boulogne.

Surrey was not of a temper to bear this unjust and aggravating measure with patience. With the rest of his family, he regarded the Seymours as upstarts, and attributed all this disaster to their influence. His expressions of indignation were uttered in that unguarded and forcible manner, which shews a soul incapable of committing treachery, because it is above fearing it; but, unhappily, some secret foe conveyed these transports of indignation to Hertford, and Surrey was committed to Windsor

Castle. It was not the first time that the chivalrous poet had tasted the bitterness of imprisonment; and one of his most pathetic lays commemorates a brief captivity which, three years before, he had undergone with some companions for eating white meat during Lent. Too generous to disguise the truth even in his own cause, the justice of his second imprisonment was acknowledged by the high spirited, yet candid earl, who had rashly exclaimed, when speaking in the heat of passion, of Hertford, "that he and his family should smart for it;" and who declared, that on this occasion, the conduct of the king was full of forbearance and equity, in according to him his pardon. In proof of reconciliation, Surrey was not only released but was afterwards permitted to attend upon the monarch, at the visit of the French ambassadors. But this tranquillity was of short duration; Hertford had reason to dread the resentment of Surrey and his father, should they ever regain their influence at court; he had not only injured the earl at this time, but had offended both him and his father, by disrespectful conduct upon a former occasion, when he was reproved both by Paget and Wriothesley, on account of his overbearing manner to the Duke of Norfolk. Hertford, naturally dreaded the revival of the power which the Howards had

once enjoyed. The Duke of Norfolk, politic, and experienced in courts, dreaded the ascendancy of the Seymour interest, and sought to avert the impending storm by alliances between that family and his own. The Dutchess of Richmond, his daughter, was solicited to marry Sir Thomas Seymour, brother to the earl; but that lady, though beautiful in person, was deficient in every good feeling, and hating both her father and brother, and believing that the match would be advantageous to their interests, she refused to comply with the request. It has been said that Surrey, on his part, rejected the daughter of Hertford, but this statement is disproved by the fact that his wife was at this time alive, and on terms of conjugal affection with the earl, who expressly desired her to join him at Boulogne: nor did her death take place until many years after his decease. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Surrey was suspected of designing to aspire to the hand of the Princess Mary; he was also accused of treason in quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor with his own, a common
1546. practice in his family; and was, with his father, towards the end of this year, committed to the Tower.

When domestic dissension exists in a family, every exterior evil attacks the divided house,

armed with double power. The unhappy circumstances attached to the parents of the poet, have already been the subject of remark. Time had not soothed the domestic broils in which the Duke and Dutchess of Norfolk were continually engaged: the dutchess, united to her husband against her will, was jealous, without affection to soften that angry passion, and entertained a strong enmity towards one Mrs. Holland, said to be the duke's mistress, a lady of an ancient Norfolk family, who frequented the court in company with the Dutchess of Richmond, and who was stated by the dutchess to have been originally a laundry maid in her service. After repeated quarrels between the duke and his wife, a separation having taken place, the dutchess had several times applied to Cromwell for redress against her husband, but not obtaining the assistance she had desired, she waited for some opportunity of revenge. Meanwhile her wrath was daily aggravated by the public attentions shewn by the duke to her rival, who appeared in magnificent jewels, and who inhabited apartments in Kensington Palace. At last, the long cherished malignity of the dutchess burst forth; and she again preferred an accusation against the duke, adding, however, to the former allegations of cruelty to herself, an impeachment of his fidelity

towards the king. For some time no proceedings were instituted upon this charge, until at length Sir Richard Southwell, the former friend of Surrey, came forward as a witness against the duke and his son. Upon this impeachment the two nobles were committed; the wife, the daughter and the mistress of Norfolk, to the disgrace of their sex, coming forward as the witnesses upon whose evidence the charges were to be made good. The Earl of Surrey was tried before the commoners at Guildhall, after having been examined before the council. The first witness was Mrs. Holland, who was anxious to save herself from sinking under the ruins of the house of Howard. Her evidence criminated the duke no further than with respect to his having expressed a hatred to these "*new men*," as he styled the Seymours, and to his having spoken of the increasing infirmities of the king.

It was disgusting, but not surprizing to behold a woman who had lost all sense of decency, appear as the enemy of her partner in iniquity. Connections similar to that which was supposed to subsist between the Duke of Norfolk and Mrs. Holland, may sometimes have the tenderness, but never can possess the fidelity of the marriage tie; and, when a woman once throws aside that modesty which is her birth-right, the rest of her

feelings soon lose their integrity, and every virtuous principle is swept away in the general wreck.

Thus, perhaps, may the judges of the gallant, but devoted Surrey have reflected, when they beheld the mistress of his father become the deadly foe of her paramour. But what instructions of experience, what calculations upon the extent of human depravity, could have taught them to behold with patience a sister, young, beautiful, and accomplished, presenting herself at the bar of justice to criminate her brother! The Dutchess of Richmond succeeded Mrs. Holland, and deposed to all that she could with a semblance of credibility relate, to stigmatize her brother as a traitor. The chief point of her unsolicited evidence, which most, of all the charges, influenced the judges of Surrey in their condemnation, was that he had borne in his arms "what seemed to her judgment a king's crown, with a cypher which she took to be H. R." This deposition tended to prove the charge in the indictment, which accused the earl of bearing the arms of Edward the Confessor. Sir Edmund Knivet and Thomas Pope followed this witness; the sum of their allegations was, "that Surrey was fond of entertaining at his table Italians, who might be spies, and that the Duke of Norfolk was known to have disapproved of some particular act, on religious matters."

The defence of Surrey was worthy of his high fame as a soldier, and as a man. In his replies to the allegations of the witnesses, he shewed that his acuteness and wit were equal to that fine imagination which had made him the ornament of his age. In his indignation at the perjury of his accusers, he evinced the spirit of a knight, who holds his honour to be dearer than his life. When one of the witnesses related some insult which he had offered to Surrey, the earl turning to the judges, exclaimed, "I leave it to you to judge whether it be probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surrey, and he not strike him!"*

But this display of a great and upright mind availed not. The base jury found him guilty, and Wriothesley, to his eternal disgrace, pronounced sentence of death upon the gallant Howard. Surrey was remanded to the Tower, where, about a week after his trial, he was beheaded.

Jan. 31, 1546.

The closing scene of the life of this celebrated man is enveloped in oblivion, and we are denied the gratification of that melancholy interest, which attracts the curiosity of mankind to the departure of spirits, fit for heaven, to their native abode. Yet, it is a matter of astonishment, that the chroniclers of the period could

* *Nott's Surrey*, p. 102.

have possessed souls so devoid of every exalted sentiment, as to have left this sad and memorable tale untold. Some excuses may, however, be urged in defence even of those who have related with tedious prolixity the order of a feast, and the circumstances of a procession, and who have left the last moments of the life of Surrey unrecorded, from their inability to procure information. The execution was carefully concealed from public view; the contrivers of the iniquitous transaction well knowing how the opinions of the populace would be expressed on the occasion.*

Henry, the responsible author of this barbarous transaction, was now on his death-bed; his mind, fast sinking into insensibility, was poisoned by the enemies of Surrey, to whose sentence he is supposed to have given his assent; but, the king had long since been incapable of signing his own name, and as he used a stamp for that purpose, it is possible that the Seymours, apprehensive for their future power, if the house of Howard should resume its greatness in the succeeding reign, may have used the instrument by which the signature of the king was imitated. Henry was, indeed, scarcely sensible to any thing except pain, and the fear of death. Proceedings were, however, carried on in his name

* *Nott*, p. 103.

against the Duke of Norfolk, and parliament was summoned for the alleged purpose of creating the young Edward, Prince of Wales, but for the actual business of an attainder against Norfolk. That nobleman, who knew well the advantages to be derived from postponement of his sentence, endeavoured to arrest the last decree by a confession of guilt, and by a submission to the king; but the bill of attainder passed both houses, and the lords were ordered to attend in their robes on the twenty-seventh day of the month, in order to receive the royal assent to the act.

Meanwhile the king lay in a situation of the greatest danger, and of the utmost suffering. His last public action was the prefixing of his signature to the commission for the attainder of Norfolk. With respect to this document, it is supposed by Burnet, that, as the king had impressed his initials in a form unusual to him*, some doubts may have been entertained of its validity.† Some slight hope may, therefore, be cherished, that the last exertion of the dying

* At the top instead of at the bottom of the paper: but surely if the persons about the king had designed to counterfeit his signature, they would have attended to so obvious a circumstance. It is more probable that the extreme state of disease in which the king lay, prevented him from knowing on what part of the paper he prefixed his stamp.

† *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 630.

monarch was not made for the purpose of shedding blood, a decree for which he would soon become responsible to a higher power. Reduced to a state of helpless disease, the life of Henry had long since been a burden to himself, and his passions a terror to all who approached him. As his complaints had latterly centered in his leg, the once agile king was constrained to move up and down stairs, by a machine made for the purpose. In this state of wretchedness, no person dared to inform the irascible sufferer of his approaching death, or to exhort him to prepare for that tribunal to which he had given his faith, but with a view to which he had not directed his practice. Some indications of a preparation for a future state appeared, however, in the determination of the king to confirm a will which he had made before his last journey into France. One alteration he persisted in making, although the remonstrances of Sir Anthony Browne were used to prevent that resolution. The name of Gardiner was effaced, the king having discovered, when too late, the hollowness and duplicity of that interested person. Unsubdued by sickness, Henry, on the repeated intercession of Browne on behalf of the bishop, bade him beware, or "he would strike him out too." A great difficulty now occurred in the completion of the king's last testament, to which he was in vain urged

to prefix his stamp; and at last, when his attendants beheld his death approaching, one William Clark, a person employed in the royal household, put the stamp on the document, in the presence of several witnesses.

On the third day of the month, the king had also given a grant for the endowment of Christ's Hospital, with the sum of five hundred marks per annum; about the same time he issued another grant for the foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge, which forms a proud memorial of its munificent founder. He now declined rapidly, but unconsciously, having apparently no sense of immediate danger. In this extremity, Henry was still formidable to his subjects, none of whom dared to remind him of his death, lest they should be indicted upon an act lately passed in parliament for the security of the king's life.

January.

At length, Sir Anthony Denny, an old servant of the king, ventured to speak the truth to the dying monarch, and to bid him prepare for his dissolution. The king received the intimation with composure, and expressed contrition for the sins of his past life, and faith in the mercies of Christ.* Sir

Jan. 28th, 1546.

* It has been said by Thevet, a French historian, that Henry expressed sincere repentance for the injuries which he had inflicted upon Anne Bullen. See note in *Lingard's Hist. Eng.* vol. vi.

Anthony then asked him if there were any spiritual comforter whom he desired to see; upon which the king, finding his weakness increase, desired him to send to Croydon for Cranmer, who had purposely absented himself during the late sanguinary proceedings; but, before the archbishop arrived, the once powerful and dreaded monarch was speechless. Cranmer, begging him to give some sign that he died in Christ, Henry pressed his hand, and expired.

By this event the Duke of Norfolk escaped execution; the warrant had been signed in presence of the king, and was to have taken effect on the twenty-ninth of January. At two o'clock in the morning Henry breathed his last, but his death was not announced until three days afterwards. The king had attained his fifty-sixth year of his age, and had reigned thirty-seven years. The lords, either being occupied with cogitations respecting the Duke of Norfolk, or in providing for the future administration upon the accession of the Prince Edward, carefully concealed the truth from the people until their plans were fully arranged. The intelligence of Henry's decease was received with grief by the young king, and by the Princess Elizabeth, to whom he had been in some respects an affectionate father. They burst forth in loud lamentations on the occasion, and, at their tender and artless age,

the genuine nature of their sorrow cannot be disputed.*

The body of the king, who had died at his palace of Westminster, was conveyed to Leadenhall, there to lie in state until the funeral. By his will, Henry had desired that his remains might be interred in the choir of the cathedral at Windsor, between the stalls and the altar, and that the bones of Jane Seymour, already entombed within the chapel, might be placed under the same monument. Before the death of Wolsey, a splendid fabric had been begun for th purpose of a mausoleum, although erroneously supposed to have been intended by Wolsey for his own tomb; the inscription upon it, "Henry, Lord of Ireland," proving, as Fuller remarks, that at an early period it was destined for the receptacle of the king. Henry enjoined, also, that the sepulchre of Henry the Sixth, whom he styles his uncle, and that of Edward the Fourth, his progenitor of the house of York, should be beautified and repaired. He ordered that masses should be sung for the good of his soul, and that four solemn obits should be kept yearly. At each obit ten pounds were to be distributed to thirteen poor knights of Windsor, of whom he was the first patron; and he further commanded that 12*d.* per day, a long gown of cloth

* *Hayward's Life of Edward the Sixth*, p. 4.

with the garter embroidered thereon, and a mantle of cloth should be distributed to each knight.

With regard to the succession, in case of failure from Edward, Mary, or Elizabeth, it was to devolve upon the descendants of Mary Queen of France, the children of the Scottish Queen being wholly passed over by this unjust arrangement.* The great aversion which the king had constantly manifested towards the Scots, and his recent contentions with his nephew, account for this disposal of the crown, yet it excited some surprise at the time of his decease, for he had been known to say, when the Lady Margaret Douglas, his niece, married the Earl of Lenox, that he should be glad, in case of failure from his own descendants, that her offspring should succeed to the crown; a circumstance which occurred in the accession of James the First to the throne. Another injunction in the royal will was, that the debts of the king were to be discharged

* These daughters of Mary, and of Charles Brandon were already married. The Lady Francis to Gray, Marquis of Dorset, afterwards created Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Gray; the Lady Eleanor to Henry Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. To each of these ladies, Henry bequeathed a portion of 10,000*l*, then esteemed an ample dowry for a kinswoman of the blood royal. Queen Elizabeth hearing, afterwards, that the Bishop of Durham had presumed to portion his daughter with a sum equally large, took away 1000*l* yearly from that bishop, and gave it to the garrison of Berwick. See *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 344.

before his legacies; but as many of the former were unpaid in the reign of Elizabeth, it is probable that the legacies never came into the hands of those to whom they were bequeathed. It is, indeed, remarkable, that all the principal articles of Henry's testamentary dispositions were either disregarded or annulled by uncontroulable events. The throne, after passing in the regular line, was occupied by a descendant of Margaret of Scotland: the tombs of Henry the Sixth and of Edward the Fourth, were suffered to fall into decay, and the very monument of the king himself was never completed, his coffin and those of Jane Seymour being discovered by chance when the vault underneath the choir was opened for the purpose of entombing Charles the First. This inattention, on the part of the executors, to the will of Henry, and their neglect, especially of that memento of himself which he had begun, are supposed to have resulted from want of means to continue so costly a fabric. Mary, from horror of the dubious sentiments attributed to her father on religious subjects, and Elizabeth, from penuriousness, left the half-finished work untouched, and it was finally taken down and sold in the civil wars, when many of the noblest monuments of antiquity were sacrificed to the levelling and rapa-

cious hands of the infuriated soldiery.* It is, however, singular, that not a single stone should mark the place of interment of a monarch, whose actions and character are more familiar, perhaps, to the minds of Englishmen, than those of any other British king before or since his time: and, not only was the tomb of Henry disregarded, but the requiems and masses which he appointed, were both omitted in the reign of his successor, and silenced, never, in all human probability, to be restored, in the venerable structure where the great monarch is entombed. Perhaps there are few circumstances more calculated to shew the transitory nature and the futility of worldly grandeur, than the reflections which these facts induce.

The qualities of Henry the Eighth have been so frequently and so fully described, that the most elaborate description of his character would now appear like plagiarism. By contemporary writers the sum of his vices or of his virtues was aggravated or diminished according to party views, influenced by religious opinions. By later historians it has been agreed, that, while the defects of Henry as a man far exceeded his merits, the great and good qualities which he displayed in his public capacity,

* *Fuller's Church Hist.* pp. 243 — 255.

counterbalanced his faults. In his general views, when his judgment was formed, and his resolutions were decided, independently of personal considerations, Henry usually displayed a strong understanding, and liberality, and zeal for the good of his subjects; but where his passions were in any degree concerned, no desire for the welfare of his country, no principle of justice, nor sentiment of mercy could withhold him from the gratification of his wishes. For this reason, perhaps, no king has ever sat on the throne of England who has contributed, individually, to effect so much good, or to inflict so much misery as Henry the Eighth occasioned. In reviewing the progress of the Reformation, we forget the consequences of that great work, in the bloodshed and distress which marked the æra of its introduction into England. We regard with pity the sufferings of individuals, and with resentment the conduct of the monarch, who was induced to promote the changes which he effected by motives of interest, or by prejudices which were nurtured by vanity.

Independent of this great operation, however, the exertions of Henry for the glory of his kingdom may fully entitle him to a place among the greatest of our princes. In the advancement of literature, he aided religion, of which the most cultivated minds are the most susceptible; and

in the encouragement of learning he cherished virtue, to which the exercise of the faculties is highly favourable. It has been asserted, that in the reign of Henry the Eighth "no dunce ever wore a mitre;" and this observation is proved not only by history to have been just, but is confirmed by the remark that in this reign few men of merit remained in obscurity, and that none attained eminence in any public offices unless they possessed either talent or industry. A short account of those men who were remarkable at this period for learning or for wit, will prove the justice of this assertion.

To Skelton*, who, in conjunction with Giles Dewes†, clerk of the library to Henry the Seventh, had the honour of being tutor to Henry the Eighth, this king evinced his approbation. Skelton, who was descended from an old family of Cumberland, was a student at both the uni-

* See *Bishop Kennet's Collections. Bibl. Lansdown*, 979, from the celebrated ode of Erasmus, "De Laudibus Britanniæ, Regisq."

* With regard to the fact, (hitherto unnoticed, and obligingly communicated to me by Benjamin Bright, Esq.) that Giles Dewes assisted in the tuition of Henry the Eighth, the following is the authority. In an old French work, "L'Eclaircissement de la Langue Francoise," printed in 1530, the author, in an epistle to the "King's Grace," speaks of the syngular Clerke Maister Gyles Dewes, sometime instructor to your Noble Grace in this "selfe tong" (French), which Dewes also taught to the Prince Arthur and the Princess Mary.

versities, and became poet laureate to the university of Oxford, an honour then conferred as a degree by the university, and not, as at present, constituting an office at court. Upon the accession of his pupil to the throne, Skelton was made royal orator, an appointment of a doubtful nature, and of which the salary has not been ascertained.* The further patronage of Skelton was probably checked by the scurrility of the poet in his writings, and by the licentiousness of his life.† Although himself a clergyman, being curate of Trompington, in Cambridgeshire, and rector of Diss, in Norfolk, Skelton satirized the vices of the clergy, and, in particular, those of Wolsey, whom he made the subject of the famous verses, entitled "Why come ye not to Court?" This poem excited great sensation at the period in which it was written; it took the popular fancy, and roused the indignation of Wolsey, from the effects of whose vengeance Skelton was obliged to flee. He took refuge in the sanctuary of Westminster, where he was protected by the abbot, Islip, until the year 1529, when the poet expired, shortly before his renowned persecutor, and was buried in the church-yard of St. Margaret, at Westminster.

* *Chalmer's Biographical Dict.* vol. xxviii. p. 46.

† *Wood*, vol. i. p. 22.

The works of Skelton, the only professed poet in the reign of Henry the Seventh*, would scarcely have remained in existence from their intrinsic merits, had they not contained many pointed allusions to public characters, and many severe remarks illustrative of the manners of the times. Exceeding Chaucer in coarseness and scurrility, Skelton has neither the variety, the humour, nor the pathos of that transcendant writer.† The language of Skelton is defective in purity, and his verses in harmony and precision, and he contributed but little to the improvement of the poetical style, and rather tended to corrupt than to chasten the language of his country, by the introduction of newly-coined words, and of French and Latin phrases interspersed throughout his compositions.‡ However his verses may have been appreciated, at the rude and early period of our English literature, in which they were ushered into the world, a modern reader will take them up as a task ; and he would relinquish the perusal without deriving profit, or experiencing amusement.

The regard which Henry manifested for Wyatt has already been the subject of remark ; and in the early part of his reign, he testified his admiration for the high attainments and the

* *Chalmers.* † *Warton*, vol. ii. p. 341.

‡ *Chalmers.*

poetical abilities of Surrey by the intimacy which he encouraged between that unfortunate nobleman and the Duke of Richmond. Yet, it is impossible to avoid observing that the compositions of Surrey and of Wyatt were not of a nature to be appreciated duly by their gifted, but inelegant monarch. Displaying rather an amiable, than a strong mind, the poems of Surrey picture a purity and refinement of feeling, which could scarcely have been comprehended by one whose softer passions were never divested of grossness, and whose ambition was actuated by selfishness and vanity. Wyatt, who has been undeservedly coupled with his friend in their literary fame, was too much of a courtier to be eminently favoured by the muse of poetry, whom Surrey courted in the shades of Kenninghall, and even in the gloom of his prison at Windsor. The compositions of Wyatt disclose a mind not devoid of sensibility but which might have acquired a higher degree of elevation, and a greater intensity of thought, had leisure, and not business been his portion in life.

In speaking of the encouragement which Henry gave to poetry, the manuscript volume of poems supposed to have been written by him, and mentioned by Warton as having been in the possession of Lord Eglintoun, must not be forgotten, for the influence of example, upon fash-

ion is notorious. A madrigal, said to have been composed by the king when he first became enamoured of Anne Bullen, is also mentioned by the same author.* But the patronage which Henry extended to works of importance, was of far more avail in the cause of learning than his own limited, though commendable efforts. In 1523, the chronicles of Froissart, translated, at the command of the king, by Lord Berners, were printed by Pinson. The effect which these animated and interesting annals would naturally produce in heightening the chivalric spirit of the age, was probably contemplated by Henry in this undertaking. But a still nobler work was projected and assisted by Henry towards the later part of his reign. He had appointed the celebrated John Leland, or Leyland, to be keeper of his libraries, which were extremely magnificent and extensive, according to the statement of the antiquary who had the luxury of guarding the precious deposit†; but, this account must, of course, be taken comparatively, and the scarcity of books at the period considered. Leland had been a pupil of the famous grammarian Lilly, in St. Paul's school, whence he had proceeded to study at both the universities, but the college of All-Souls, in Oxford, has

* *Warton*, vol. ii. p. 58. † *Weaver*, p. 593.

the honour of claiming his longest residence within her quadrangle. From Oxford, Leland proceeded to Paris, where his studies were pursued with the greatest profit to his mental powers, from his activity and perseverance. On returning to England Leland took orders and was preferred by Henry to be one of his chaplains. In 1533, the king gave him a commission under the broad seal empowering him to search into the antiquities of England, to visit abbeys, priories, cathedrals, and colleges, and to investigate those storehouses of learning which were contained in their libraries; he was also enabled to view all records either public or private, all writings and obscure documents, and to dig, as it were, "into the very bowels of antiquity."

For this laborious research, Leland was admirably qualified; not only was he an excellent classical scholar, both in Latin and Greek, but there was no modern European language which he did not understand; and he was besides versed in the Saxon and Gaelic tongues, so that no portal leading to the great avenues of knowledge was closed against his admission. But all these advantages, without enthusiasm, would have been like faith without zeal, or virtue without energy: Leland was a true antiquary; he loved those who loved the researches in which he delighted, and was accused

by his enemies of conceit and of boasting, from his sanguine and confident disposition; yet, when he contemplated the great task which was set before him, Leland was known to say that the very thoughts of it drove him to distraction, and he soon found it necessary to give up a part of his church duty to relieve his overburdened mind.* At length, after wandering up and down the country for six years, after viewing, with genuine antiquarian sorrow, the destruction of the monasteries, and endeavouring to inspire Cromwell with similar sentiments, Leland returned home to his house in the parish of St. Michael Le Querne, in London, where he spent six years more in weaving his materials into various works, adapted for publication. Meanwhile he had received several valuable livings from Henry the Eighth, to whom he presented, in the year 1545, as a "New Years Gift," his Account of the Antiquities of England, in Latin, which Bale, the companion of his labours, afterwards translated, and to which he annexed annotations, and a catalogue of the principal English writers.† In the dedication prefixed to this work, Leland extols the encouragement which Henry has afforded to his researches, he expatiates on the laborious nature of his own peregrinations, and de-

* *Wood.* † Ibid.

clares that there is neither cape, bay, river, lake, mere, mountain, castle, or town, monastery or college, or other notable place, which he had not seen and described.* Of his collections from ancient writers some are lost, others are supposed to have been preserved among the Cottonian Manuscripts, and others are known to remain in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, having been given by Edward the Sixth, after the death of Leland, to the tutor of the king, Sir John Cheke, by whom they were distributed to various persons.†

The close of the useful and laborious career of this great man was truly deplorable. Overwhelmed with the magnitude of those works which he had promised Henry to complete, and finding that life was scarcely sufficient for plans of so extensive a description, reason sunk under the weight of accumulated knowledge, and of anticipated disgrace and disappointment. The Catholics attributed his disease to remorse for his alienation from the Romish church, for Leland had lately imbibed the Protestant tenets; other persons inimical to him, deemed it the result of an imagination inflamed with poetical fervour, which had shewn itself chiefly in a panegyric on Sir Thomas Wyatt. When we remember, however, the additional trouble and

* *Strype*, vol. i. pt. ii. no. cxviii. † *Wood*.

difficulty which, before the invention of printing, must have attended such investigations as those in which Leland was engaged, it does not appear necessary to seek for any other cause of his mental aberration than the arduous and overpowering nature of his undertakings. He was placed by Edward the Sixth under the care of his brother, and the revenues of several of his livings were allowed for his support. Although his frenzy had begun the year after the completion of his celebrated work on antiquities, Leland lived until 1552; but whether he was ever cured of his malady or not, is not specified by his biographer.*

Of a very different description of genius was John Heywood, a noted epigrammatist and buffoon, much patronized by Henry the Eighth. Heywood, who was the first English writer of plays who introduced familiar life and manners into the drama, in lieu of representations from the Bible, was also a fair musician, both vocal and instrumental. Although he had the means of receiving a learned education, and had been entered at Broadgate's Hall, in Oxford, Heywood preferred the glory of making the banquet-hall of royalty ring with laughter, to the studies of the learned cloister, and he appears to have chosen the vocation for which he was adapted,

* *Wood.*

for even the grave Queen Mary relaxed into mirth at his witticisms, and when lying on her death-bed enjoined him to divert her sorrows by his humorous sallies. Heywood was a zealous Papist, and upon the death of his patroness, Mary, left England, and took up his abode at Mechlin. His most noted poem is the "Spider and the Fly," consisting of ninety-eight chapters. Of this performance, Warton remarks, "that perhaps there never was so dull, so tedious, and so trifling an apologue, without meaning and without moral."

The patronage which Henry extended to Andrew Borde, "a mad physician and a dull poet," is more a matter of conjecture than of fact. Borde is more celebrated as being the earliest medical writer in this country, than as a poet. His "Dietary of Health," dedicated to the Duke of Norfolk, contains many amusing and curious hints as to the manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, introduced in directions for the maintenance of health, and the regulations of diet. As a poet Borde is wholly insignificant, and sinks far beneath the level of Skelton.

Never, perhaps, was a court more replete with poets of high rank than that of Henry the Eighth. The names of Parker Lord Morley, Thomas Vaux, Rochford, Bryan, Surrey, and Wyatt, have already been enumerated; another

poet of lasting, though humble fame, occupied also an office near to the person of the king. Among the gentlemen of the privy chamber was Sir Thomas Sternhold, the translator of the psalms, groom of the robes to Henry, and afterwards groom of the bed-chamber to Edward the Sixth. "This writer," as Fuller remarks, "was considered in his own time an excellent poet; yet," as the same author adds, "he who then wore the bay, deserves not now the ivy."* Sternhold, according to Wood, was a native of Hampshire, and studied at Oxford, which he left without taking any degree, and came to try his fortunes at the court, and here he obtained the favour of the king, who left him, in his will, an hundred marks. It was some years before the death of Henry that the court of France had been enraptured by a translation of the psalms by Marot, and that even the sons of Francis had preferred these pious effusions to the bacchanalian and hunting songs in which young men frequently delight. It was in imitation of the French versifier that Sternhold undertook that laudable task which he has executed so indifferently. Being one of those strict and conscientious reformers whom later ages have seen revived in the Puritans and Calvinists, Sternhold was so much shocked at the loose ballads, in

* *Fuller's Church Hist.* p. 244.

singing which his brother courtiers amused their leisure hours, "that he forsooth," in the words of his biographer, "turned into English metre "fifty-one of David's Psalms, and caused musical "notes to be set to them, thinking thereby that "the courtiers would sing them instead of their "ballads, but *did not*, only some few excepted."* This task, so well conceived and so lamentably performed, was afterwards continued, with a shade of improvement by John Hopkins, and by other well-meaning but inefficient versifiers.

The patronage which Henry the Eighth extended to learned and ingenious foreigners, is by no means the least prominent feature in the reign of this monarch. The acquaintance of Henry with Erasmus began at a very early period; when that great scholar was on a visit into England, he lived for some time at the house of Lord Mountjoy, near Greenwich, and here he was joined by Sir Thomas More, who persuaded him to walk to the neighbouring town of Eltham, where the family of Henry the Seventh, with the exception of Prince Arthur†, usually resided. When they came to the great hall of the palace, curiosity impelled the two friends to enter, and

* The Psalms by Sternhold were not, as Chalmers informs us, first published with notes. This account of Wood's is therefore erroneous. *Biographical Hist.*

† *Knight's Life of Erasmus*, p. 70.

here they beheld all the royal children; Henry, a boy of nine years old, full of majesty and spirit, yet affable and gentle, was amusing himself in the hall; on his right hand stood his sister Margaret, about eleven years old; Mary, a child about four years of age, was playing on his left, while Edmund, an infant who afterwards died young, was held in the arms of the nurse. Erasmus and More were delighted with Prince Henry, and the acquaintance thus pleasantly formed, was probably the cause of that intimacy which afterwards subsisted between Henry and these great men.*

It was Erasmus who introduced Holbein to this country. Holbein was the intimate friend of Erasmus, and at his request the painter left his native town of Basle, and visited London, where Erasmus procured him the patronage of Sir Thomas More. With More, Holbein continued during three years, painting various members of the family, and several friends of his illustrious patron. It was at the house of More that Henry first became acquainted with Holbein, and being delighted with the productions of his pencil, he took him home, and employed him during the remainder of his life.

To Henry the Eighth is due the honour of having been the first of our English kings who

* *Knight's Life of Erasmus*, p. 70.

encouraged the art of painting. He not only kept several painters besides Holbein in constant pay, such as Quintin Matsys, Johannus Corvus, Gerard Luke, Anthony Joto, Jerome de Trevisi, Homeband, Bartti, and others*; but he invited the immortal Rafaelle and Titian to shed the lustre of their talents upon the arts of his kingdom. Those painters, unhappily for England, declined complying with this invitation, imagining, as it is supposed, that among a people by whom portrait painting was so much encouraged, their peculiar talents would not be called forth into play. Yet it was the frequent practice of Henry to cause his battles, and other memorable events, to be commemorated by the pencil of the painter, as well as in the pages of the chronicler.

There can be no doubt but that the Reformation, for some time, checked the progress of literature and of the arts, and frustrated the exertions of Henry in their behalf. The power of the monastic bodies, which had hitherto proved the great supporters of the arts of civil life, was now depressed, and no patrons of learning and of taste, during some years, came forward to supply their place. The nobility, occupied during the reign of Edward the Sixth, in asserting their individual ascendancy, and during that of

* *Archæologia*, vol. iii. p. 245.

Mary in escaping persecution, were distracted from those elegant and intellectual pursuits to which they returned with renewed vigour in the happier days of Elizabeth. The reign of Henry was an era of revolution in the arts and pursuits of social life, as well as in religious opinions. Poetry began to combine polish and elegance with vigour; the drama assumed a new form; classical learning engaged the schools; the Bible became the standard of our faith. The seeds of improvement were sown by Henry, but, from the roughness and versatility in his mode of culture, it was not until long after his death that they were reared, and that they acquired maturity.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[From Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 21.]

Letter to Erasmus from Henry the Eighth; written when that Prince was only Nine Years of Age. Translated from the Latin.

YOUR letter, most eloquent Erasmus, gives me a very great pleasure, as it is too beautiful to have been a hasty composition, and too plain and perspicuous to be the effect of much diligence in so great a genius: for it happens, I know not how, that what ingenious men take the most care and pains in composing, is proportionably clouded with an affected obscurity; for while we are aiming at accuracy of style, we are insensibly losing the easy and intelligible way of writing. But this epistle of yours is not less excellent for its beauty than its perspicuity, and shews you are a master of every thing essential to a good writer. But why do I attempt to praise your elegance, whose knowledge is so celebrated throughout the whole world? It is far beyond my abilities to write any thing in your praise that is worthy your consummate erudition. For this reason I decline writing any encomium upon you, of whom it is much better to be silent than to say too little. As to the death of the King of Castile, my very much esteemed and lamented brother, I was very disagreeably informed of it long before I received it in your letter, and heartily wish that it had

either come much later, or that there had been less truth in it. For never since the death of my most dear mother has any message been brought to me that has given me a greater affliction; and to tell you the truth, I paid less regard to that part of your letter than its extraordinary elegance demanded of me, because it made that wound to bleed afresh which time had almost healed up: yet it is the duty of man to acquiesce in the appointments of Providence. Be so good, however, as to continue your correspondence, and write me any thing that is new, and worthy of your relating, but let it be more agreeable.

May God give a blessing and success to it.

Richmond, Jan. 17.

No. II.

[From Heylin's History of the Reformation.]

Circular Letter, addressed in the Name of Jane Seymour, to the Sheriffs of Counties, &c. announcing the Birth of Prince Edward.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; and because, by the inestimable goodness and grace of Almighty God, we be delivered, and brought in childbed of a prince, conceived in most lawful manner between my lord the king's majesty and us; doubting not, for the love and affection you bear to us and to the commonwealth of this realm, this knowledge shall be joyous and glad tidings to you, we have thought good to certify you of the same; to the intent you might not only render to God condigne thanks and praise for so great a benefit, but also continually pray for the long continuance and

preservation of the same here in this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of my lord the king and us, and the universal weal, quiet, and tranquillity of this whole realm.

Hampton Court, 12th October.

No. III.

[From the Cabala.]

King Henry the Eighth to the Clergy of the Province of York, anno 1533, *touching his Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England.*

Right Reverend Father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, and have received your letters, dated at York the 6th of May, containing a long discourse of your mind and opinion concerning such words as have passed the clergy of the province of Canterbury, in the proeme of their grant made unto us, the like whereof should now pass in that province. Albeit ye interlace such words of submission of your judgment and discharge of your duty towards us with humble fashion and behaviour as we cannot conceive displeasure nor be miscontent with you; considering what you have said to us in times past in other matters, and what ye confess in your letters yourselves to have heard and known nothing also the effect of the same, we cannot but marvel at sundry points and articles, which we shall open unto you as hereafter followeth.

First, ye have heard (as ye say ye have) the said words to have passed in the Convocation of Canterbury, where were present so many learned in divinity and law; as the Bishops of Rochester, London, S. Asaph, Abbots

of Hyde, S. Bennets, and many other; and in the law, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Bath; and in the lower house of the clergy so many notable and great clerks, whose persons and learning you know well enough. Why do ye not in this case with yourself, as you willed us in our great matter, conform your conscience to the conscience and opinion of a great number? Such was your advice to us in the same (our great matter) which now we perceive ye take for no sure counsel, for ye search the grounds, not regarding their sayings. Nevertheless, forasmuch as ye examine their grounds, causes, and reasons, in doing whereof ye seem rather to seek and examine that thing which might disprove their doings than that which might maintain the same, we shall answer you briefly without long discourse to the chief points of your said letters; wherein taking for a ground that words were ordained to signifie things, and cannot therefore by sinister interpretation alter the truth of them, but onely in the wits of perverse persons that would blinde or colour the same, by reason whereof to good men they signifie that they mean onely doing their office, and to men of worse sort they serve for maintenance of such meaning as they would imagine. So in using words we ought onely to regard and consider the expression of the truth in convenient speech and sentences, without over much scruple of superperverse interpretations as the malice of men may excogitate, wherein both over much negligence is not to be commended, and too much diligence is not onely by daily experience in men's writings and laws shewed frustrate and void, insomuch as nothing can be so clearly and plainly written, spoken, and ordered but that subtile wit hath been able to subvert the same, but also the Spirit of God, which in his scripture taught us the contrary, as in the places which ye bring in and

rehearse;—if the Holy Ghost had had regard to that which might have been perversely construed of these words, 'Pater major me est,' and the other, 'Ego et Pater unum sumus,' there should have been added to the first 'humanitas,' to the second 'substantia.' And wherefore doth the scripture call Christ 'primogenitum? whereupon, and the adverb 'donec,' was maintained the errour, 'contra perpetuam virginitatem Marie.' Why have we in the church S. Paul's epistle, which S. Peter writeth to have been the occasion of errours? Why did Christ speak many words which the Jews drew 'ad calumniam,' and yet reformed them not? as when he said, 'Destruite templum hoc,' &c., meaning of his body, where 'templum' with them had another signification, and such other like? There is none other cause but this: 'Omnia quæ scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt.' And by that learning we ought to apply and draw words to the truth, and so to understand them as they may signifie truth, and not so to wrest them as they should maintain a lie. For otherwise, as hereticks have done with the holy scripture, so shall all men do with familiar speech; and if all things shall be brought into familiar disputation, he that shall call us 'supremum et unicum dominum,' by that means, and as goeth your argument, might be reproved. For Christ is indeed 'unicus dominus et supremus,' as we confess him in the church daily; and now it is in opinion that 'sancti' be not mediators, the contrary whereof ye affirm in your letters, because of the text of S. Paul, 'Unus est mediator inter Deum et hominem.' And after that manner of reason which ye use in the entry, if any man should say, 'This land is mine own, and none hath right in it but I,' he might be reproved by the psalm, 'Domini est terra.' For why should a man call 'terram

aliquam' onely his, whereof God is the chief lord and owner? Why is it admitted in familiar speech to call a man dead, of whom the soul, which is the chief and best part, yet liveth? How is it we say this man or that man to be founder of this church, seeing that in one respect God is onely founder? We say likewise that he is a good man to the church, a special benefactor of the church; and that the church has fallen down when the stones be fallen down, the people preserved and living. And in all this manner of speech when we hear them, it is not accustomed nor used to do as ye do, that is to say, to draw the word church to that sense wherein the speech may be a lie, but to take it in that wherein it signifieth truth. Which accustomed manner if ye had followed, you should not have needed to have laboured so much in the declaration of the word 'ecclesia' in that signification wherein it is most rarely taken, and cannot, without maintenance of too manifest a lie, be applied to any man. For taking 'ecclesia' in that sence ye take it, S. Paul wrote amiss writing to the Corinthians, saying 'Ecclesia Dei quæ est Corinthi,' for by your definition 'non circumscribitur loco ecclesia.' In the gospel where Christ said 'Die ecclesiæ,' must needs have another interpretation and definition then ye make 'de ecclesia' in your said letters, or else it were hard to make complaint to all Christendom, as the case in the gospel requireth: 'Sed est candidi pectoris verba veritati accommodare ut ipsam referre quod eorum officium est non corrumpere videantur.' Furthermore, the lawyers that write how 'ecclesia fallit et fallitur,' what blasphemy do they affirm if that definition should be given to 'ecclesia' which you write in your letters, wherein albeit ye write the truth so far, yet forasmuch as ye draw that to the words spoken of us to the reprobation of them,

yet ye shew yourselves, contrary to the teaching of scripture, rather inclined, by applying a divers definition, to make that a lie which is truly spoken then, 'genuino sensu addita et candida interpretatione,' to verifie the same. It were 'nimis absurdum' for us to be called 'caput ecclesiæ representans corpus Christi mysticum et ecclesiæ quæ sine ruga est et macula quam Christus sibi sponsam elegit illises partem vel oblatam accipere vel arrogare.' And therefore albeit 'ecclesia' is spoken of in these words touched in the proeme, yet there is added 'et cleri Anglicani,' which words conjoyned restrain, by way of interpretation, the word 'ecclesiam,' and is as much to say as the church, that is to say, the clergy of England. Which manner of speaking in the law ye have professed ye many times find, and likewise in many other places.

But proceeding in your said letter, ye have shewed Christ to be 'caput ecclesiæ,' ye goe about to shew how he divided his power in earth after the distinction 'temporaliam et spiritualiam,' whereof the one ye say he committed to princes, the other 'sacerdotibus' for princes; ye alledge texts which shew and prove obedience due to princes of all men without distinction, be he priest, clerk, bishop, or layman, who make together the church; and albeit your own words make mention of temporal things, wherein ye say they should be obeyed; yet the texts of scripture which ye alledge having the general words 'obedite et subditi estote,' contain no such words whereby spiritual things should be excluded, but whatsoever appertaineth to the tranquillity of man's life is of necessity included, as the words plainly import, as ye also confess; wherefore 'gladium portat princeps' not only against them that break his commandment and laws, but against him also that in anywise

breaketh God's laws. For we may not more regard our law then God, nor punish the breach of our laws and leave the transgressour of God's laws unreformed, so as all spiritual things, by reason whereof may arise bodily trouble and inquietation, be necessarily included in princes' power, and so proveth the text of scripture by you alledged, and also the doctors by you brought in confirm the same. After that ye intend to prove, which no man will deny, the ministration of spiritual things to have been by Christ committed to priests, to preach and minister the sacraments, them to be as physicians to men's souls; but in these scriptures neither by spiritual things so far extended as under colour of that vocabule be now adaies, nor it proveth not that their office being never so excellent, yet their persons, acts, and deeds should not be under the power of their prince by God assigned, whom they should acknowledge as their head; the excellency of the matter of the office doth not alwaies in all points extoll the dignity of the minister. Christ, who did most perfectly use the office of a priest, 'et nihil aliud quam vere curavit animas,' gainsaid not the authority of Pilate upon that ground; and St. Paul, executing the office of a priest, said 'ad tribunal Cæsaris sto ubi me judicari oportet,' and commanded likewise indistinctly all others to obey princes; and yet unto those priests, being as members executing that office, princes do honour, for so is God's pleasure and commandment, wherefore howsoever ye take the words in the proeme, we indeed do shew and declare that priests and bishops preaching the word of God, ministring the sacraments according to Christ's law, and refreshing our people with ghostly and spiritual food, we not only succour and defend them for tranquility of their life, but also with our presence, and otherwise do honour them

as the case requireth, for so is God's pleasure: like as the husband, although he be head of the wife, yet saith St. Paul, 'Non habet vir protestatem sui corporis sed mulier,' and so is in that respect under her. And having our mother in our realm, by the commandment of God we shall honour her, and yet she, for respect of our dignity, shall honour us by God's commandment likewise. And the minister is not always the better man, 'sed cui ministratur;' the physician is not better then the prince because he can do that the prince cannot, viz. 'curare morbum.' In consecration of archbishops, do not bishops give more dignity by their ministration then they have themselves? The doctors ye bring in, taking for their theme to extol priesthood, prefer it to the dignity of a prince, after which manner of reasoning it may be called 'dignius imperare affectibus quam populis,' and so every good man, in consideration of every dignity, to excell a king not living so perfectly as he doth. And why is a bishop better then a priest, seeing and considering in the matter of their office 'episcopus etiam si administrat plura non tamen administrat majora?' Emperours and princes obey bishops and priests, as doers of the message of Christ and his ambassadours, for that purpose which 'donestatim fiunt privati,' and in order and quietness of living acknowledge princes as head. For what meant Justinian the emperour to make laws 'de episcopis et clericis,' and such other spiritual matters, if he had not been perswaded 'illi esse curam ecclesiæ a Deo mandatam?' This is true, that princes be 'filii ecclesiæ,' that is to say, 'illius ecclesiæ,' which ye define wherewith it may agree that they be nevertheless 'suprema capita' of the congregations of Christian men in their countries, like as in smaller number of Christian men 'non est absurdum vocare superiores

capita,' as they be called indeed, and may be called 'primi et supremi,' in respect of those countries. And why else doth the Pope suffer any other besides himself to be called archbishop, seeing that he himself indeed challengeth to be 'princeps apostolorum et episcoporum' in Peter's stead, which the name of an archbishop utterly denieth? But by addition of the country they save the sense whereunto in us to be called 'Ecclesiæ Anglicane,' yet at the last agree, so that there were added 'in temporalibus,' which addition were superfluous, considering that men, being here themselves earthly and temporal, cannot be head and governour to things eternal not yet spiritual; taking that word spiritual not as the common speech abuseth it, but as he signifieth indeed. For 'quæ spiritu aguntur nulla lege ast ringuntur,' as the scripture saith, 'quæ spiritu Dei aguntur libera sunt.' And if you take 'spiritualibus' for spiritual men, that is to say, priests' clerks, their good acts and deeds worldly, in all this both we and all other princes be at this day chief and heads, after whose ordinance, either in general or in particular, they be ordered and governed. For, leaving old stories, and considering the state of the world in our time, is there any convocation where laws be made for the order of our clergy but such as by our authority is assembled? And why should not we say as Justinian said, 'Omnia nostra facimus quibus a nobis impartitur aucthoritas?' Is any bishop made but he submitteth himself to us, and acknowledgeth himself as bishop to be our subject? Do not we give our licence and assent to the election of abbotts? And this is concerning the persons and laws spiritual; as touching their goods, it is, in all men's opinions learned in our laws, 'extra controversiam,' that debate and controversie of them appertaineth to our occasion and order. And as

for the living of the clergy, some notable offences we reserve to our correction, some we remit by our sufferance to the judges of the clergy; as murther, felony, and treason, and such like enormities, we reserve to our examination; other crimes we leave to be ordered by the clergy, not because we may not intermeddle with them, for there is no doubt but as well might we punish adultery and insolence in priests as emperours have done, and other princes at this day do, which ye know well enough; so as in all these articles concerning the persons of priests, their laws, their acts, and order of living, forasmuch as they be indeed all temporal, and concerning this present life only, in those we (as we be called) be indeed in this realm 'caput,' and because there is no man above us here, be indeed 'supremum caput.' As to spiritual things, meaning by them the sacraments, being by God ordained as instruments of efficacy and strength, whereby grace is of his infinite goodness conferred upon his people, forasmuch as they be no worldly nor temporal things, they have no worldly nor temporal head, but only Christ that did institute them, by whose ordinance they be ministred here by mortal men, elect, chosen, and ordered as God hath willed for that purpose, who be the clergy, who for the time they do that, and in that respect 'tanquam ministri versantur in his quæ hominum protestati non subjiciuntur si male versantur sine scandalo Deum ultorem habent si cum scandalo hominum cognito et vindicta est.' Wherein, as is before said, either the prince is chief doer this authority proceeded to the execution of the same, as when by sufferance or privilege the prelats intromit themselves therein, wherefore in that which is derived from the prince at the beginning, why should any obstacle or scruple be to call him head from whom

that is derived? Such things as, although they be amongst men, yet they be indeed 'divina quoniam supra nos sunt nihil ad nos;' and being called head of all, we be not in deed nor in name, to him that would sincerely understand it, head of such things, being not spiritual as they be not temporal, and yet to those words spoken of us, 'ad evitandam illam calumniam,' there is added, 'quantam per legem Christi licet;' for interpretation of which parenthesis, your similitude added, of 'homo immortalis est quantum per naturæ legem licet,' is nothing like; for 'naturæ lex' is not immortality, as is 'lex Christi' to superiority, for 'lex naturæ' nor speaketh nor can mean of any immortality at all, considering that the law of nature ordaineth mortality in all things; but Christ's law speaketh of superiority, admitteth superiority, sheweth also and declareth 'obediendum esse principibus,' as ye do alledge. Wherefore, if the law of God permitteth superiority, and commandeth obedience to examine and measure 'modum obedientiæ et superioritatis,' there can to no other thing so good a relation be made. For as ye understand the scripture, though it say nay to part, it saith not nay to the whole, whereas nature denieth utterly all immortality; and so, though in speaking of immortality of man it were superfluous to say 'quantam per naturæ legem licet,' yet is not so speaking 'de superioritate et modo principatus,' referring the certain limits to the law of Christ, 'ad cujus normam quicquid quadrat planum et rectum est quicquid non quadrat pravum et iniquum.' And as touching the doubt and difficulty you make to give a single answer yea or no, for that the question propounded containeth two things, whereof the one is true, the other false, as ye say; meaning, as ye write, that in 'temporalibus' we be 'caput,' and in 'spiritu-

alibus' we be not. It seemeth that neither your example agreeth in similitude with that ye bring it in for, nor is there in learning or common speech used the scrupulosity in answers ye write of. Truth it is, that the question in plain words containeth two parts expressly, whereof the one is true, the other false; our yea or nay cannot be answered; for there should appear a manifest lye, which God's law detested and naturally abhorred, as if it should be asked us if we were King of England and of Denmark, our yea or nay should not suffice. But it is far otherwise both in matters of learning and common speech, where the words in the question may, by divers interpretations or relations, contain two things, and yet in expression contain but one: as if a man should ask us, 'An Filius et Pater unum sunt?' We would not doubt to answer and say, 'Yea,' as the Scripture saith; for it is truly answered, and to make a lye is but sophistication, drawing the word 'unum' to 'person,' wherein it is a lye. If one were asked the question, whether the man and wife were one, he might boldly and truly say, 'Yea,' and yet it is 'distinctione corporum naturalium' a lie; and to the question, 'Utrum ecclesia constet ex bonis et malis?' Yea; and yet as ye define 'ecclesiam' it is a lie. The reason of diversity is this, for that it is not supposed men would abuse words, but apply them to signify truth, and not to signify a lie; wherein the Arrians' offending took occasion of heresies.

For that which is in Scripture written is a most certain truth, and as it is there written so and no otherwise would Christ have answered if the question had been asked, 'An Pater esset major illo? He would have said 'Yea, as it is written.' And if the Arians would have taken for a truth that of him that is truth and speaketh truth, and from whom proceedeth but truth, they would

have brought a distinction with them to set forth truly, and not disprove that it was truly written, by sophistication of the word. When St. James wrote, 'Fides sine operibus mortua est,' he wrote truth, and so did St. Paul, 'Quod fides justificat absque operibus legis,' which it could not do if it were 'mortua.' Either of these made a single asseveration of a sentence by interpretation containing two, trusting that the reader would 'pio animo' so understand them as their sayings might, as they do indeed, agree with truth. It is never to be thought men will willingly, and without shame, lye; and, therefore, the sense, if any may be gathered true or like to be true, is to be taken, and not that which is a lye. And when we write to the Pope, 'Sanctissimo,' we mean not holier than St. Peter, though it sound so; and he that in our letters should object that should be thought ridiculous. He that should say he rode beyond the sea, were not conveniently interrupted in his tale by him that would object, saying, upon the sea, where he could not ride at all; and rather then men would note a lye when they knew what is meant, they will sooner by allegory or metaphor draw the word to the truth, than by cavillation of the word note a lye. Hath not the Pope been called 'caput ecclesiæ?' and who hath put any addition to it? Have not men said that the Pope may dispense 'cum jure divino,' and yet in a part 'juris divini, viz. 'moralis et naturalis,' the same men would say he might not dispense; wherefore, if in all others matters it was never thought inconvenient to speak absolutely the truth without distinction, why should there be more scruple in our case? The truth cannot be changed by words, that we be as God's law suffereth us to be, whereunto we do and must conform ourselves. And if ye understand as ye ought to under-

stand, ‘ temporalibus,’ for the passing over this life in quietness, ye at last descend to agree to that which in the former part of your letters you intend to impugne, and sticking to that it were most improperly spoken to say, ‘ We be illius ecclesiæ caput in temporalibus,’ which hath not ‘ temporalia.’

THE END.

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